

THE
L I F E

O. F.

ROBERT Lord CLIVE,
BARON PLASSEY.

T H E
L I F E
O F

ROBERT Lord CLIVE,
BARON PLASSEY.

WHEREIN

Are Impartially delineated his Military Talents in the Field, his
Maxims of Government in the Cabinet, during the two last Wars
in the EAST INDIES,

Which made him ARBITER of EMPIRE, and the richest Subject in
EUROPE.

WITH

ANECDOTES of his PRIVATE LIFE,

AND THE

PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES of his DEATH.

Also a NARRATIVE of all the last TRANSACTIONS in INDIA.

By CHARLES CARACCIOLI, Gent:

V O L. II.

L O N D O N .

Printed and Sold by T BELL, N^o. 26, BELL-YARD
ATTEMPT- BAR.

T H E
L I F E
O F

LORD CLIVE, BARON PLASSEY.

BUT so universal was the dislike of the natives and English to his lordship, and so unconquerable was the aversion of some of them, that there are several instances of both white and black women in Bengal, who rejected his offers with disdain, and exposed him to the ridicule of the world, instead of becoming prostitutes to his wealth and power.

The following anecdotes will evince this verity.

When lord Clive went up the country to settle matters with Sujah al Dowlah and other Indian powers; doctor — his lordship's physician, and pimp in ordinary, has his commission enlarged to superintend his patron's pleasures during his progress. Lord Clive having seen by chance a beautiful

beautiful black girl, mistress to doctor Knight, a physician in the company's service, was struck with her bewitching charms, and thought her situation in life was a favourable omen for his desires. Doctor ——— received directions, in consequence of this discovery, to employ all the arts of negotiation, and to exert all the skill he had shewn in this inglorious department, to have a conference, with the black object of lord Clive's amours and impatient desires. The expert mercury, proud of this trusty office, took the first opportunity, which the absence of his brother in the elculapian mysteries gave him, to sound the heart of the artless girl. In case of compliance ——— was directed to desire her to mention her own terms. But the generous faithful girl, who sincerely loved her friend and benefactor, rejected the doctor's offers, tempting as they were, in a manner that would reflect honour on a woman sentimental and civilized; and afterwards revealed to the man she unfeignedly loved, doctor ———'s commission and character. This official conduct of Dr. ——— might have stopped him in his career, had he not left his master to flust for himself on the occasion. Mr. Knight though low in the service, was a man esteemed and beloved, and shewed on this occasion a proper spirit and resentment. He declared to Mr. ——— that if ever he presumed to pay a second visit to his apartments on the same errand, he would cane him according to his deserts, not as a brother doctor, but in his capacity as a pump and a vile seducer; and that if his lordship was to come himself in person, to offer him an insult so repugnant to his honour, he would treat him as
his

his contemptible agent. Lord Clive, arbitrary as he was, suspended ——— in his executive powers, and did not think proper to renew this perilous attack.

Lord Clive on his return to Calcutta renewed the commission of Mr. ——— recommending to his honourable agent to look for some belle whom they might approach with safety, from the resentment of a suspicious lover. Accordingly, Mrs. ——— was the object of Mr. ——— inquiries, and of the choice of his noble patron. This amiable lady was at the age of sixteen, widow of a captain lieutenant of artillery in the service of the company; her youth, her charms, and her virtue, should have inspired no other sentiments in a liberal breast, but generosity, true love, and respect. Her situation and circumstances made Mr. ——— confident of success, and he thought he should soon triumph at her scruples and delicacy, as Mrs. ——— had no other connection in the settlement than a mother in years, who could scarcely protect her under the same roof, and her income was almost confined to the pension of widows, according to the rank of their husbands in the service. This lady siogled out for disgrace and infamy, was honoured unexpectedly with complimentary cards of invitation from lord Clive at all balls and concerts, public or private. She did not at first mistrust this attention, nor even the obsequious attention of doctor ——— till she was invited in the most tender, though respectful expressions to a private ball at his lordship's house. She thought his station and his civility could not permit her to refuse to comply with this new mark
of

of attention, and in the course of the dances, Dr. — — whispered to her that he had something particular to say to her, and led her to a remote corner of the room; where with an effrontery equal to his depravity, he told her that lord Clive had desired him to shew her a great curiosity, which was in his lordship's bedchamber, and was taking her by the hand in order to conduct her to the place designed for her dishonour; when recovering from her surprize, and the silent indignation this insult had created in her mind, she upbraided the doctor for his injurious credulity, and shewed the contempt she had for his lordship and his pimp, by calling for her palankeen and walking instantly out of the room; she never afterwards entered the house of lord Clive, nor would be seen in his company, or that of his unsuccessful agent, who from that time acted with more caution and less impudence.

I am happy that I have it in my power to convince my readers, above contradiction of the information I had received in respect to the troops under major Carnac. They thought their general had received from the board at Calcutta discretionary orders, as mentioned by me in page 401, as will appear by the following letter.

To major Carnac.

March 12, 1764.

“ We observe from your letters as well as those from captain Jennings and captain Stables, the reason that there is to suspect that Sujah al Dowlah will either come himself or favour an invasion into Bahar. If those advices should prove to have founda-

foundation, we think it will be more adviseable to carry the war into Sujah Dowlah's own country, than to wait his entering the province. Immediately therefore, upon such confirmation being received, if you think you can depend on the disposition and affection of the troops; we desire you will march the army across the Caramnassa, and proceed to act offensively against the enemy to the best advantage. In the mean time, we shall hold a further reinforcement in readiness, consisting of the detachment of the 84th regiment, the marines of the Squadron and a party of the artillery, which will make in all about 200 men, with two pieces of cannon to march and join you whenever it shall be judged necessary."

In consequence of this letter, major Carnac on the 23d of March ordered a bridge to be constructed over the Caramnassa with the view of marching to attack the enemy. This resolution was dropped as soon as taken, and a shameful retreat was the consequence of this faint motion.

I have already taken notice of the major in the impetuosity of his courage, marching to meet the enemy, and to offer them battle. It appears to have been in consequence of the following letter from the board.

To Major Carnac,

24th March, 1764.

We have paid due regard to the reasons which you urge in your letter for having continued to act so long upon the defensive; but we must say, that they do not carry the same weight with us.

C

With

“ With regard to the nabob he cannot possibly expect; nor can our whole army ever be allowed to remain in a state of inaction merely to protect his person, especially when it is considered that this end may be as effectually secured by his returning into Patna. On this step therefore he must immediately determine, unless he should rather resolve to accompany our army and take an equal chance with them in attacking the enemy ”

When the major marched from Dynappon on the 18th of April, he had with him two battalions of seapoys, besides his body guard, which consisted of a troop of black cavalry about 100 men, and a European troop of about 50 men, under the command of captain George Hay.

The major marched in front as mentioned in page 405, but went much farther than usual; and when breakfast was over, on the second day's march, cards, the favourite amusement of the commander, when in the field, were introduced according to custom; but they were soon interrupted by an advanced party of the enemy, who came to play another game. The major and his field officers on the alarm ran out of the tent, putting their cards in their pockets, that they might play the game out when they returned. The first thing which presented itself to the view of the major and his officers, was the enemy to the number of between three or four hundred driving our cavalry before them. It was a fortunate incident to the major and those of his guard, that the enemy left off their pursuit on seeing the seapoys betake themselves to their arms; for had they pushed on, they must have cut to pieces or taken prisoners

ers the major and all his detachment, and gained a complete victory before they were joined by their companions, who were to the number of several thousands a little way off. We had a few men killed and wounded, nor did the enemy get off scot-free. We appeal to military men, who, we presume will allow, that it is a duty highly incumbent on every general who commands an army, to be well informed of what passes in the enemy's camp; for upon this greatly depends the safety of an army. What must we think of, an English commander who allows himself to be surprised by a black army, whose manoeuvres are as conspicuous as the sun at noon day.

This is the first information the major had of the enemy having crossed the Soan, which they did at Dowdnagur, the place to which the major was in full march to oppose them. It is well known that all states whatever, who have armies in the field, cheerfully reimburse their general any expence he may be at for good intelligence; and it is also well known to many officers who were under the command of major Carnac, that the expence the company were put to at this very time for intelligence, was great. Mr. Swinton who had charge of the harrarrahs, or spies, knows this to be a fact; and a retrospect view of the company's books for these months of

will prove it.

Tho' the major seemed to laugh at the inglorious circumstance of having being thus surprised, yet his vanity was hurt, and he thought his honour was concerned in retaliating this insult. a scheme was therefore laid to draw this advanced party of the

the

the enemy into a snare the next morning, and take satisfaction for the affront they had put upon him.

The cavalry under the command of captain Hay, was early in the morning to beat up the enemy's quarters, a sham fight was to ensue, when our people were to retreat to a certain tope where a few company's of seapoys were to be placed in ambuscade to receive the enemy.

The unexpected firing from the musketry of our infantry, was of course to throw the enemy into confusion. Our cavalry who were to open to the right and left to make way for the sea poys, were then to charge the enemy upon their flanks, which was supposed they could do with great advantage. Agreeable to this plan, captain Hay, with the cavalry went out early in the morning attacked the enemy, and as their numbers increased our people retreated to the tope where the sea-poys were supposed to be, but there were none found there to support our cavalry, which obliged captain Hay, lieutenants Mair and Eyles, and the other officers to exert their utmost abilities, to make good their retreat, which they with some difficulty did to the head quarters.

This entrapping scheme was played early on the evening before, and when the major had sufficiently amused himself with the general entertainment of the day, and was returning to rest, he told the seapoy officer, that so, no, he would not send them, and immediately after went to bed, and neglected to inform captain Hay, of the cavalry, that he had laid aside his scheme.

In our forced march to Patna page 406 We must not forget to mention a circumstance which

will shew the little regard and attention major Carnac paid to the officers and soldiers he had the honour to command; some coffes, before he came to Meer Absel's gardens, he halted his army at a tank in the middle of a plain, where no tree from shelter from the burning heat of the sun was to be found. The major with the greatest indifference pitched his tent, and regaled himself and family with a cold colation and something comfortable to drink, while officers and soldiers were left broiling in the sun, in a most sultry day, on the 25th of April; and tho' they could get nothing to eat, yet they could quench their thirst, and wash the dust from their sweaty brows with the dirty water of the tank which was in a moment a thick from offensive mud the number of animals of the human and brute species going into it. However, our halting, had this good effect with it, that the enemy who harassed our rear during all the march, imagined we intended to encamp here, retired; no doubt as much fatigued as ourselves; we were therefore allowed to proceed the rest of the march unmolested. At the end of Pulwara-plain, there is a large tank with remarkable high banks; here the major once thought of taking post; accordingly artillery officers with all the bildars were sent to cut and level the inside of the banks, to make a platform for our guns. This resolution lasted but for a few hours, we were then drawn up as already described in page 406.

We beg leave to take notice that when the enemy began to retire from before our trenches, the third of May, page 407. Major Stibbert marched out in pursuit of them with the troops of his post, joined

joined by captain Wildings battalion, and captain Smith with the body of reserve, lieutenant Nicol, who had dislodged the enemy from the Mosque, page 407, was afterwards re-inforced with two companies of sea-boys under the command of lieutenant Davidson, and when major Stibbert in so spirited a manner formed the resolution of taking the enemy's cannon, lieutenant Nicol and Davidson, who were at a good distance to his right looked upon two pieces of cannon, which were not a great way before them as their prey. Thus when these troops were marching on with the greatest eagerness and resolution to possess themselves of the enemy's cannon, a positive order came from our commander in chief, major Carnac, to major Stibbert, to leave off the pursuit, and another in consequence was sent to lieutenant Nicol to return; we have only to observe, that the troops were greatly chagrined at the orders of their general, their hopes were disappointed, their spirits were depressed, on being obliged to return from the pursuit of an enemy, who had insulted them for some time past; they were thus prevented from making themselves masters of the enemy's cannon, and taking satisfaction for their provocations, and giving them a complete over-throw for their temerity.

We have already taken notice of the major's remaining upwards of a month in his trenches inactive, after the enemy had retired from him twelve or fourteen coss; and that he detached major Champion, page 407 last paragraph. How far this inactivity and proceedings agreed with the sense of the governor and council at Calcutta, will

be best known to my readers by giving a copy of their letter to him.

To Major Carnac,

29th May 1764.

“ The measure of crossing over the river with part of the army and carrying the war into Sujah Dowlah's country was only an alternative proposed on the supposition that it would not be in your power to bring the enemy to action. This is far from being the case at present, the enemy having for some time past kept our army in a manner invested, and we would therefore by no means recommend that measure now unfit, you have first brought them to action on this side and defeated them; and then of course you are to pursue them and prosecute the war in the most advantageous manner.

“ We have now repeatedly given you our opinion for attacking the enemy; but if you really think this measure impracticable, we desire you will acquaint us fully with your reasons and what plan you would propose for bringing the war to an issue. And we must beg you will be very particular in every circumstance that we may be enabled to form a proper judgment and co-operate with you to the utmost of our power.”

I am happy to find that the opinion of so respectable a body of men as the authors of the above letter should coincide with my own as expressed in page 408.

I am now come to the letter which the major receiving from the board, and which I call a positive order to attack the enemy; and shall leave it

to the determination of military men what the consequence would have been to any general in Europe, to have disobeyed such an order.

To major Carnac.

11th June, 1764.

“As we are determined to prosecute the war against Sujah Dowlah, and are of opinion that the rains will not be any impediment to the operations; but on the contrary, with regard to receiving provisions and stores, rather a convenience from the advantage of the rivers. We hereby direct you do immediately put the army in motion, leaving the necessary garrisons in Patna and Monghier, and cross the loan and pursue the enemy as far as the Ganges opposite to Banarass, endeavouring, if possible, to bring them to an action.”

The reason that appear upon the face of the letter for attacking the enemy, is so obvious that it requires no exposition. I shall therefore only enlarge upon the reason in the letter for the sake of my readers, who are not acquainted with India; and can speak confidently from the local knowledge of my correspondents.

Bengal is a remarkable flat country and from the number of its rivers a great part of the country at one time, or other of the rainy season, is entirely overflowed: it is therefore evident that horse cannot act, and as two thirds of Sujah Dowlah's army consisted of horse, this made our army comparatively speaking, much stronger, and we had also this advantage of obliging them in a manner to fight upon an equal footing, from the country being divided by rivers and swamps, the fields for action were

were contracted so, that we could draw them into that situation where our front might extend as far as theirs; besides the advantage of our artillery being better mounted, we could march with it; where the enemy would be obliged to leave their heavy, clumsy mounted cannon behind.

These reasons, weighty as they are, and well known to major Carnac, could not stimulate him to action: on the contrary, "he ordered the Bombay detachment to their cantonments the 17th of June."

The major's orders to march and attack the enemy, were confirmed by the following letter.

To Major Carnac: 14th June, 1764:

"We have received your letter of the 5th instant, we think it absolutely necessary to proceed against Sujah al Dowlah without loss of time, nor stop till we have convinced him that we are capable of acting offensively as well as defensively; otherwise we shall without doubt be liable to have the province invaded whenever the state of affairs in his own country will admit of his turning his thoughts this way. We must therefore (with the exception hereafter mentioned) repeat our orders of the 11th instant for the army's crossing the Soan without delay: and we have great reason to believe that the plan therein laid down will be rendered more effectual by the attacks which it is probable Sujah al Dowlah will receive from Gazy Odeen Khawn, the Jauts and the Marattas, who are reported to be actually on their march to invade his country.

" We always have been of opinion, and shall continue to think that the force under your command is quite sufficient to act offensively against Sujah Dowlah ; and yourself was of the same opinion in your letter of the 17th of April, which was some time after the mutiny, and before you was joined by captain Wemyss's detachment. We must also here repeat our sentiments, that a spirit of mutiny is much more likely to break out in an army acting upon a defensive, than an offensive plan. However, as you mention, that the principal officers have all along agreed with you in the expediences of acting defensively, we desire you will now communicate our orders of the 11th of June, and this letter to the other field officers, the commandants of the king's troops, of the Bombay detachment, and of the artillery and the three senior captains, which with your own, is in all nine voices, and let them give their opinions in writing seperately ; whether they think our plan practicable with the force at present, under your command ? if not, what addition of troops will be requisite, that we may do our utmost to reinforce you accordingly. It is absolutely requisite for the reasons above-mentioned, to act upon the offensive. "

" These opinions, after taking a copy, you will please to transmit immediately to ———, and if two-thirds of your opinions should concur, that the present force is insufficient for executing the plan proposed, we would not have the army advance further than the banks of the Soan, until the reinforcement arrive ; and we desire you will in such case, caution major Champion not to advance so far

far as to be compelled to engage with a force too superior to his own."

It was in consequence of this letter that the major ordered the army to hold themselves in readiness to march as mentioned in the beginning of page 409.

This last letter shews the opinion the board at Calcutta entertained of major Carnac's conduct and judgment; they were sensible of the contempt the company's troops must have been held under their timid and irresolute commander, by Sujah al Dowlah, who, as they had foreseen, conceived projects of invasion into their territories, after the unskilful marches and countermarches of this inglorious campaign. It was thought high time to appoint a number of officers to constitute a council of war, on whose opinion they might rely in future, in regard to military operations, as they could not account for this defensive procrastination, which betrayed the fears and misconduct of most of the field officers.

Several persons to whom we owe a particular regard and attention, having desired the editor of this work to inform them with the ground on which two gentlemen, who lately appealed to the house of lords, for permission to have their cause tried in the court of Common-pleas, and the commission issued out in consequence from the court of Chancery, to examine witnesses in India relative to the accusation of false imprisonment, and other injuries the appellants complained to have received from Mr. Verelst, when president and governor of Calcutta : we insert here at their request, a narrative of the cases of Mr. James Nicol and Mr. Thomas Davie, the plaintiffs in question ; to which

shall join the case of the two injured Armenians, who have lately applied for justice in England, and after having gained their cause, are obliged to wait for the event of a new trial.

Mr. James Nicol, formerly an officer of singular merit, in the service of the East India company, resigned the service by permission of his superiors, who accepted his resignation some time in May 1766.

He resided afterwards in different parts of Bengal, as a private merchant; and in December 1766, went into the country of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, to settle there as a merchant, and recover his debts; having first received the particular permission of that prince, who had contracted a friendship for him during his military service.

On the 27th December 1766, colonel Richard Smith being arrived at Banaras, a city in the dominions of that Nabob, 600 miles from Calcutta, where Mr. Nicol then was, he sent Mr. Nicol a peremptory order by one lieutenant Dalasfield to leave Banaras in twenty-four hours, on which Mr. Nicol wrote the following letter:

“ To colonel Richard Smith,

“ SIR,

“ I am informed by Mr. Dalasfield, that it is your intention I shall not remain in this city. I beg leave, Sir, to represent to you, that the reason of my coming up the country is to collect in some money which I have out at interest, and which without my presence will not be paid. It will be a great detriment to me, if I am prevented from so doing, and very likely prove the loss of a great part.

part. I persuade myself, Sir, it is not your intention to prejudice me in the small fortune I have got during seven years abode in India; and that you will not obstruct me in prosecution of my plao, of which I have general Carnac's tacit approbation. I have the honour to be,

"SIR,

"Your most obedient

"and most humble servant,
 f^t Banaras, 27th Dec. 1766. (Signed) James Nicol."

On receipt of this, the colonel was graciously pleased to indulge Mr. Nicol with a longer time, and sent captain Gabriel Harper to acquaint him, he might stay forty-eight hours longer; but if he did not then go, force afterwards would be used.

Mr. Nicol accordingly quitted Banaras, and went upon his business into other parts of the country belonging to Sujah al Dowlah; and particularly to Fysabad, where the Nabob resided, having repeatedly received permission, in letters from that prince, to settle there as a merchant.

After being some months settled there, upon finding that Sir Robert Barker had received orders from Calcutta to seize and send him down, Mr. Nicol waited upon the nabob at his palace at Fysabad, who there shewed him a letter from governor Verelst, informing the nabob, that Mr. Nicol being no servant of the company's, must be sent home to England, therefore desiring the nabob would permit the company's troops to take him prisoner.

It is impossible to describe the uneasiness which this demand gave the nabob, who observed to Mr. Nicol,

Nicol, " that it made him appear small and contemptible in the eyes of his subjects, and served to weaken their allegiance " . Applications however continued to be made with the greatest importunity to the nabob ; and at last, without his consent, captain Hill sent two parties of seapoys to surround a gentleman's house, in which Mr. Nicol resided. Mr. Nicol, who knew such proceedings gave the nabob great uneasiness, and foresaw they might occasion ill usage to himself, sent to inform the nabob, that he was resolved to go immediately to Sir Robert Barker, who commanded the brigade, then at Allahabad. The nabob, as a proof of his consent to Mr. Nicol's residing at Fysabad, and in order, if possible, to wipe off the stain which this proceeding had thrown on his government in the eyes of his subjects, immediately resolved to go himself to Allahabad, and endeavour to obtain leave from Sir Robert Barker for Mr. Nicol to remain in the dominions he appears to govern ; and he accordingly very publicly accompanied Mr. Nicol to Allahabad, which is about ninety miles from his own court.

The nabob failed in his application ; and Sir Robert Barker acquainted Mr. Nicol, that having received an order from the governor and council of Calcutta for that purpose, he should send him down thither within three days under a guard.

Upon this the nabob wrote a letter, dated the 12th March 1767, to governor Verelst. from which the following is an extract : " the affair of captain Nicol is this : when he was stationed with me," (in his military capacity) " I entertained an attachment to him, and was well satisfied with his beha-

behaviour. General Carnac also recommended him in the strongest manner to me. He came to Gorrockpore to collect money which he had lent to Fazel Ally Khawn; from thence he came to see me, and requested a perwannah for carrying on trade. Out of regard to general Carnac's recommendation, and for the friendship I formerly bore him, I issued an order permitting him to trade, and I appointed a house for his residence: at which time I received letters from you and colonel Sir Robert Barker, acquainting me Mr. Nicol is no servant of the company's, nor have any orders been received from them for his staying in Hindostan, and that you should send him to Europe.

"As there is no difference between us, and I never can deviate from your order, but wish to obey the company in preference to any chiefs whatever, I went to colonel Barker at Illahabad, carrying captain Nicol with me, whom I gave up to colonel Barker, and he is now on his way to you. Out of regard to our friendship, it is proper that, for my satisfaction, you suffer this gentleman to remain two or three years in Calcutta, and grant him a licence for carrying on trade, that by means thereof he may acquire some money, when he will go to Europe. And without doubt, out of the strict friendship between you and me, you will act accordingly as I have written, and keep him in Calcutta, because I am highly pleased with the good service of this gentleman, and in doing this you will likewise give satisfaction to general Carnac."

Accordingly, on the 13th of March 1767, colonel Sir Robert Barker sent a party of seapoys to

seize Mr. Nicol, who being so seized, was put into a boat, and, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, and representations that his fortune and effects were dispersed about the country, without any person to take care of them, he was thus carried down the river under a guard with fixed bayonets to the company's fort at Mongheer, where colonel Joseph Peach had received orders from governor Verelst to detain Mr. Nicol under confinement. He was there accordingly confined, exposed to a contagious distemper which then raged in the fort, and to all the insolence and ill treatment of black seapoys, one of whom followed him wherever he went, with a drawn sword, as many persons can attest, particularly captain George Knot and Patrick Duff, and lieutenant Guinett and Ramsay, officers then in the said service, until the 1st September 1767, when he was again marched under a guard to a boat, and carried to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 9th; but was kept aboard the boat, close to the shore, in imminent danger of his life from the baans*, till the 12th September 1767; when he was ordered by Mr. Verelst into the

* Upon the influx of spring tides into the Ganges, there is a fair contest between the sea and the river. When the sea has overpowered the torrent of the Ganges, it rises over the level of the fresh water, and rushes in with the greatest rapidity and violence in large waves on each side the river, for many miles above Calcutta. There is at this time no security for boats but by getting them into the middle of the river, which the roaring of the waves, being heard at a great distance, gives the diligent boatman sufficient time to effect. This is what the natives of Bengal call baan.

the New Fort. Being now arrived within the districts of the company's charter of justice, Mr. Nicol applied to an attorney at law for assistance; who, after three days deliberation, wrote to Mr. Nicol, as follows.

"SIR,

"The cause of your confinement I am an entire stranger to, but do imagine the mayor's court, to which I belong, cannot take any cognizance thereof. The method that has been taken for redress here by gentlemen in your situation, was by protest from the notary public. I am,

"SIR,

"Your most obedient servant,

12th Sept 1767, Calcutta

WM Atkinson"

The perusal of this letter occasioned the following being written by Mr Nicol

"To the honourable Harry Verelst, Esquire, president, &c. council of Fort William.

"Gentlemen,

"I beg leave to inform you, that in March last I was settled as a merchant, in the vizier nabob, Sujah al Dowlah's country, (your ally) whose authority I had, when I was informed that you had wrote to the vizier, to allow your troops to make me a prisoner on which I wrote to colonel Sir Robert Barker, the commanding officer of your troops at Allahabad, of which letter you have a copy inclosed

E

"I conq"

“ I considered how soon an affair of this kind ought to be brought to a hearing, and that I might not be the occasion of a misunderstanding between you, gentlemen; and one of your allies, I informed the vizier nabob Sujah al Dowlah, that I had come to the resolution of not waiting for Sir Robert Barker’s answer, but of setting out immediately for Illahabad ; who replied, that if I had resolved on it, he would accompany me thither, and get colonel Barker’s leave for me to remain there, till he had wrote you on the subject. But, to my great surprize, Sir Robert Barker made me a prisoner on my arrival, and informed me, gentlemen, that it was by your order ; and that he must send me down in three days, which he did, under a guard of seapoys with fixed bayonets, who carried me to Mongheer fort. There I was a prisoner from the 2d April to the 1st September ; when I was by the brigade major carried out of my house by a guard of seapoys with fixed bayonets, and delivered over to lieutenant Brown, who brought me down with a party of seapoys, and delivered me over, on the 12th September, to Mr. Cook, their fort-adjutant, where I am now confined, without any legal cause assigned. I have only one word more, gentlemen, and I have done, which is, that it appears very extraordinary to me, that I should be confined upwards of six months without having a hearing ; and that if I had been sent from Mongheer ten days sooner, I should have been here in time to have been tried at the quarter sessions.

“ But you are too sensible, gentlemen, that you have nothing to alledge against me which I am ashamed of, or you can make a plea of for my imprisonment.

prisonment. I beg the favour of your answer, and remain with respect,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most humble servant,

" From my prison, New
Fort William, the
13th Sept. 1767."

(Signed) " James Nicol."

Mr. Nicol could obtain no satisfaction whatever. But on the 16th September 1767, the following letter, from the governor and council of Calcutta, was delivered to him by lieutenant Cook, the fort-adjutant.

" To Mr. James Nicol:

" S I R,

" I am directed by the honourable the president and council to acquaint you that they insist on your embarking on the lord Holland for Europe, in consequence of the part you acted in the late association, and your behaviour since; that captain Nairne has an order to receive you on board, with your necessaries; and also that he has been paid 30l. sterling, in order to supply you with fresh provisions during the voyage. I am,

" S I R,

" Your most obedient servant,

" Fort William,

" 14th Sept. 1767."

Simeon Droz, secretary."

This was the first formal notice Mr. Nicol had ever received of any accusation of misbehaviour, having been ignorant and innocent of any: and
it

it was the first notice he had ever received to quit India. It was therefore one among the many strong instances that have been given of the summary way of administering justice, which has of late been adopted in Calcutta, viz by condemning and punishing first, and then informing the parties what it is for; but taking care to afford them no opportunities for proving their innocence, and escaping the highest injuries.

Mr. Thomas Davie went out to the East Indies in the month of February 1762, licensed by the company as a free mariner, who at that time went out licensed, for an unlimited time, to reside and trade in all parts of India within the company's limits, upon only giving security in 500l. not to become chargeable to the company.

Upon the commencement of the troubles with Cossim Ally Khawn, he entered into the military service of the company. On the 12th of January 1764, he was promoted to the station of an Ensign; and on the 26th February 1765, he was further advanced to the rank of Lieutenant. This commission he resigned; and the resignation was formally accepted, as will appear by the following letter.

“ To Mr. Thomas Davie, at Burdwan.

“ S I R

Chuprah, the 21st June, 1766.

“ I this day received your letter of the 16th May, and immediately communicated the contents to Lord Clive. His Lordship directs me

“ to acquaint you, that since you have thought
 “ proper to resign your commission, you are no
 “ longer to be considered as in the service, and
 “ are therefore immediately to repair to Calcutta.

“ I am, S I R,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) “ HENRY STRACHEY, Secretary.”

Mr. Davie in obedience to his Lordship's order repaired to Calcutta, but was never informed of any particular business his Lordship had for him there; and being relieved from all military engagements, upon the strength of his original licence, he continued to reside there, and in other different parts of Hindostan, as a private merchant, in which situation he continued many months unmolested, peaceably and strictly complying with the laws of the community wherever he resided. His business having called him to Illahabad, on the 9th of March 1767, he was there suddenly seized by a party of seapoys detached from the brigade of the English army, then at that city, under the command of colonel Sir Robert Barker, from whence he was carried to Patna, and thence to Mongheer. After being there confined for near three months, without any reason being alledged for it, he was then conveyed in company with Mr. James Nicol to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 9th September 1767, and continued imprisoned in company with Mr. Nicol.

While he thus continued under guard, he received the following letter.

“ To Mr. Thomas Davie:

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by the honourable the President and Council to acquaint you, that they insist upon your embarking on board the Lord Holland for Europe, in consequence of the part you acted in the late association, and your misbehaviour since; that captain Nairne has an order to receive you on board with your necessaries, and also that he has been paid the sum of 30*l.* sterling, in order to supply you with fresh provisions during the voyage. I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ Fort William, the 10th Sept. 1767.

SIMEON DROZ, secretary.”

Mr. Davie had never been prohibited from trade, admitting that the company even possessed that power, neither had he ever been informed, that his residence or even any part of his trade were injurious or inconvenient to the company. This was, moreover, the first information he had ever received of any misbehaviour, of which he was totally ignorant, and the first notice he had had for leaving India.

These two gentlemen were continued in prison together: and on the 17th September 1767, the Serjeant-major delivered an order to the Serjeant of their guard, from captain Frederick Thomas Smith, the town-major, not to suffer them to go out of their own room on any account whatever, except to the necessary house; the centinels were at the same time ordered to be removed to the inside of their prison.

During

During the time these persecuted gentlemen were suffering such hardships, a humane gentleman, then adjutant of the artillery in the company's service, named Bonny, and who had done them some acts of kindness, was sent for by the town-major, who severely reprimanded him, for it, and told him that were the president to know what he had done, the probable consequence would be his dismissal from the service.

In the night of the 18th September 1767, lieutenant George Brown went with a party of soldiers, and by order of the governor seized the prisoners, forced them into a boat, and afterwards put them on board a sloop, carried them down the river, and kept them confined on board in a miserable situation, till the 12th October 1767, when they were forced * on board the Lord Holland India-man

* These gentlemen resigned their commissions in May 1766, and their resignations were accepted. They were afterwards left unmolested to follow their lawful trade in different parts of Hindostan, which trade was not, in any respect, injurious to the company. Nevertheless, without any previous notice, they were to be forcibly sent to England, upon an illegal accusation of a pretended offence committed sixteen months before, and for which they were in no shape called to any account, when others were so seized and transported. The strong desire of the ruling party in Bengal to get these gentlemen from India will appear from the following letter of the governor's to the officer who had charge of them :

" To Lieutenant Brown.

" S I R,

" I have received your letter of the 7th instant. My orders to you were, to keep Messrs. Nicol and Davie

man, captain Nairne; who, from motives of prudence, refused to receive or keep them as prisoners on board his ship.

Upon captain Nairne's ordering lieutenant Brown and his capoys from off his deck, the lieutenant found himself necessitated likewise to take his prisoners with him into the sloop, where Mr. Nicol fell dangerously ill of a † pukka fever. Had he died, he would probably have been thrown over-board, as food for the alligators, and all his complaints would have sunk into oblivion with him. But his miseries were not to end here. The prisoners were conveyed back to their confinement at Calcutta ‡, where the disorder of Mr. Nicol continued to increase: and on the surgeon's representation of his danger to Mr. Verelst, both prisoners were

under your particular custody, until captain Nairne should have come on board the Lord Holland with his despatches from us for England, and that you should then embark them thereon as passengers. He has already left Calcutta, and I hope this conduct has been observed by you. If this should reach you in time, the only direction I have farther to give you is to take proper care, that neither of those gentlemen quit the ship and attempt a passage back to Calcutta upon any returning ship or vessel.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient, humble servant,
Fort William, the 10th Oct 1767.

(Signed) Harry Verelst."

† A putrid fever so called, it is generally fatal, and sometimes carries persons off in twenty-four hours.

‡ Surely such severities, from such causes, must serve to remind every reader of the tyranny and cruelty of hostiles and inquisitions, and of the treatment of unhappy captives by barbarous nations.

were enlarged on their parole of plighted honour, not to quit Calcutta without the governor's permission, and to embrace the first good occasion of their going to Europe.

When Mr. Nicol had so far recovered his health as to be able to walk out with the surgeon's permission, he went to Mr. Richard Whittall, another attorney of the mayor's court, to consult with him on the means proper to be used for obtaining justice for the injuries he had received from the president and council of Calcutta; who told him no redress was to be expected in India, that no attorney dared to act for him, and that all he could do, was to lay a state of his wrongs before a notary public, and desire him to frame a protest against the persons who had injured him. He accordingly went to Mr. John Holme, the only notary public there, who repeatedly declined it, from a fear, as he said, of incurring the displeasure of the governor and council. Mr. Nicol then sought to get some person to go with him, to serve as a witness of Mr. Holme's refusal but so great and general was the dread of displeasing the governor and council, that no person whom he applied to would grant his request. At last, Mr. Nicol took his fellow-prisoner with him, and in his presence demanded again of the notary public the discharge of his duty. But he continued to refuse the drawing up of a protest; or even the registering of one that was previously prepared and presented to him for that purpose, nay, at last told Mr. Nicol, if

F

he

* The state of justice cannot be on a worse footing, either in Tartary or in Barbary.

he thought himself injured, he might go to England, and sue for redress in the court of king's bench *.

Mr. Nicol, by petition, then complained to the mayor's court, representing that he had applied to all the attornies of that court, but finding himself unable to obtain justice in Calcutta, and being informed that a protest, duly authenticated by a notary public, was the only voucher of authority he could carry with him to England, of his having endeavoured in vain to obtain justice in India, he had made repeated applications to Mr. John Holme for that purpose, who was the only notary or register in Calcutta, who had constantly refused either to note, register, or authenticate any such instrument. The attesting affidavit of Mr. Thomas Davie was prefixed to this petition, and being read by Mr. Thomas Woodward then mayor, and the aldermen on the bench, they informed Mr. Nicol, that it was a matter that did not fall properly within their cognizance, nor could they oblige Mr. Holme to draw out the protest; but they said, he could not in justice refuse doing it.

However at last, Mr. Holme did consent to note the protest; the prisoners afterwards redeemed their pledged honour, by informing the governor of their design to embark for England, which they put in execution on the 18th of December 1767, after

* To very little purpose can actions be commenced in the king's bench, whilst such insurmountable difficulties are suffered to occur in the procuring of evidence from India; where such despotism is established, as may be supposed to operate irresistibly on the side of oppression.

after suffering long imprisonment, being much injured in their fortunes, having their views in life blasted, and Mr. Nicol in particular with a constitution much impaired, to wait in England for the arrival of their oppressors from India, and the precarious issue of expensive suits at law, in which the most essential proofs of injuries are to be attested in India, where their prosecutors acted as magistrates, as judges and as sovereigns; so that, in spite of all laws in being, their very obtaining evidence might be effectually prevented, though applied for by a commission issued from the high court of Chancery; it is to be hoped, that the sufferers will at last obtain justice, from this court of equity, the decision of which will be a precedent for the future, and determine whether a British subject has a right or not to reside unmolested in the dominions of princes, independent of the East India company, without being dragged forcibly, from the very seat of their empire.

Whether Mr. Verelst who was one of lord Clive's famous committee, had imbibed in that capacity the notions of arbitrary power, or modelled afterwards his government, according to the oppressive precedents of his lordship, I do not take upon myself to determine. The numerous complaints and late trials in England to obtain redress against divers acts of lawless authority, during his presidency, inspires an unfavourable opinion of his unpopular administration. Amongst several other instances, we shall mention one most extraordinary after the convenient uses made of the passive nabob's, by the governor and council of Calcutta, under whose direction alone this nominal prince is obliged

obliged to act, whenever it is necessary for any private purpose to oppress individuals.

Two Armenian merchants of established order and reputation, like many others, had been long settled in India, and were peaceably engaged in carrying on their mercantile business in the provinces bordering on Bengal, which the company had taken from, and afterwards restored to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah. Their business interfering with the private views of the governor and some of the council of Calcutta, it was thought necessary to have them removed: not contented with having them suddenly seized by the company's troops and confined, without ever being accused, confronted or heard upon any pretended crime or misbehaviour whatever, in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah, the governor and council had them forcibly brought down into their own territories, where they could more conveniently secure them, and where they were kept imprisoned for some months, to the utter ruin of themselves and families. After they had been long enough imprisoned to serve the purposes intended, they were set at liberty, but without being acquainted with any reason for such imprisonment: and, despairing of ever obtaining justice in Bengal, two of them came over in quest of it to England; where, flattering themselves that the court of directors would naturally discountenance such oppression, they presented a very respectful petition to the court; which, as it will give the best state of their case, we will present the reader with a copy of, as follows.

To the honourable the court of directors, for the affairs of the honourable the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

The petition of Gregore Cojamaul and Johanoes Padre Rafael, Armenian merchants, late of Bengal.

"Humbly Sheweth,

"That your petitioners, who are natives of Isphahan in Persia, have for many years resided in India, particularly in the provinces annexed to Bengal, and in the dominions of the different princes bordering upon those provinces, where they have carried on, for themselves and others, a very extensive trade, always with the permission and approbation of the different princes, in whose dominions your petitioners resided; always paying the duties exacted by such princes, and always cheerfully submitting themselves to the laws of such countries.

"That it has ever been the custom, from time immemorial, for Greeks, Georgians, Turks, Persians, Tartars, Cashmeerians, Armenians, and other nations, to resort to and traffic in India, where the country nabobs, sensible of the benefits arising from the resort of foreign merchants and the increase of trade, have at all times encouraged such persons to the utmost of their power.

"That besides their own traffic, your petitioners likewise, for about seven years last past, have been honoured with business upon commission from

undry English gentlemen, several of whom are now in England.

“ That your petitioners in such transactions have ever acted to the satisfaction of their constituents, and with credit to themselves; having ever studiously avoided interfering in any other than their own mercantile affairs; and they have ever been well wishers to the honourable English East India company, having never, in the most distant manner acted contrary to the interests of that company.

“ That your petitioners were lately resident in the dominions of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and the rajah Bulwant Sing, who, to the great surprise of your petitioners, received orders from your presidency of Calcutta, or Fort William to banish your petitioners out of their countries.

“ That those princes communicated the orders which they had received from your said presidency to your petitioners, who had the honour to be favoured with the friendship of the said princes; who proposed various expedients to screen your petitioners from violence, as your petitioners can shew by authentic documents in their hands to the satisfaction of this honourable court.

“ That the friendship of those princes having induced them to evade the immediate execution of such tyrannical orders, for which they knew no cause, your president Mr. Verelst wrote again in repeated letters, and in the most peremptory terms, to have your petitioners seized, imprisoned, and sent down into the company's provinces to Patna and Mershedabad; and for fear of farther delays or evasions, orders were given to the immediate

mediate servants of the English company, who were employed to seize and imprison your petitioners, as they are likewise ready to prove to the satisfaction of this honourable court. by authentic documents and writings under the hands and seals of the said company's servants.

“ That accordingly your petitioners were seized in the most sudden, cruel and inhuman manner, and brought down to the company's factories at Patna and Murshedabad, being obliged to quit instantly all they were possessed of in that country, to a very considerable amount, together with their books and papers, and the effects of many other persons with which they were intrusted, and for which they are accountable.

“ That during the confinement of your petitioners, their relations did deliver to your president, Mr. Harry Verelst, sundry petitions, particularly one of the 15th May 1768, and of the 13th June 1768, (which your petitioners imagine stand recorded upon your Calcutta consultations) requesting the releasement of your petitioners, and offering to give any such security for money, or the appearance of your petitioners, as might appear reasonable to your said president and council.

“ That the said petitions were paid no regard to, but your petitioners were continued under confinement ; your petitioner Gregore Cojamaul having been confined from the 14th March 1768 to the 28th August 1768, being five months ; during which time they were treated worse than convicted felons ; Cogee Rafael being first imprisoned in a horse-stable, and afterwards both kept in close confinement under a strong guard of the company's

pany's seapoys, with fixed bayonets, who never suffered your petitioners to stir out of their sight.

" That being at last released from confinement; your petitioners and their friends waited upon your president, Mr. Harry Verelst, not only to be acquainted what were the causes of his displeasure; and why they had been confined, but requesting leave to return up the country to secure their effects and outstanding concerns, thereby to preserve themselves and families from ruin; but, to the misfortune of your petitioners, all their applications were paid no regard to, nor could they ever obtain any satisfaction, or be acquainted why they had been thus capriciously imprisoned for so long a time, and then set at liberty, without being accused of even a fictitious misdemeanor?

" That, to the great astonishment of your petitioners, upon their arrival in Calcutta, they were informed, that your governor, Mr. Harry Verelst; and his council had been pleased to publish an edict, under date of the 18th May 1768, prohibiting all Armenians, Portugueze and their descendants, from residing or trading in any part out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa; or attempting to transport any merchandize beyond those provinces, under penalty of the utmost severe corporal punishment, and the confiscation of such merchandize; an attested notorial copy of which most extraordinary public edict is in the hands of your petitioners, for the inspection of this honourable court.

" That your petitioners were hereby not only deprived, among others, of those rights which were due to them, as men; by the law of nations, but

but were deprived of that freedom of trade which their nation had always enjoyed in the times of the worst of the ancient black nabob's, and in particular were also deprived of all hopes of ever recovering those effects from which they had been thus forcibly and capriciously taken.

"That your petitioners, who have been therefore necessitated at a great expence to come to England for justice, now appeal to the equity of this honourable court; requesting, that they will either indemnify your petitioners for the great losses they sustain, or that they will be pleased to order home, to answer for themselves, the president Mr. Verelst, and such of the company's servants as to this honourable court may appear to have been the acting persons in the oppressions complained of;

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

"London, the 12th September 1769." (Signed) "Grégoire Cojamaul,
"Johannes Padie Rafael."

It was natural for these injured Armenian merchants, who then knew but little of the state of the company and the party views of its directors, to imagine that the court would have shewn some readiness; if not a serious disposition to redress their wrongs. But, to their shame be it spoken! the petition is said to have been thrown aside, and to have lain by; unanswered and disregarded to this day; while these foreign gentlemen, as is said, have been left to seek redress at law, exactly

in the distressful situation already described, exposed to the necessity of sending commissions to India for evidence, and of waiting for the precarious arrival of their oppressors from India; some of whom may perhaps shamelessly attempt to screen themselves by the practice and now usual subterfuge, of pretending the matter complained of was transacted by the nabob, in the extra-judicial districts of the charter.

Many other instances might be given, to prove the badness of the government, police, and administration of justice in those distant dominions: some of which, though there looked upon as trifles, would in this country be considered as matters of the most serious consequence. Indeed to enumerate all the facts of that nature which have come within the writer's knowledge, would be to fill a large folio volume.

These Armenians, notwithstanding a solemn decision of a court of judicature in their favour, are obliged to wait for the issue of another trial; there is no doubt but justice will prevail against the arts of sophistry, and the important rage of crushed despotism.

The East India directors have been long possessed of all the papers relative to these proceedings; for the honour of national justice, and their own vindication, they should have published to the world their just resentment against the principal delinquents in such infamous transactions.

The cruel abjection in which the wretched natives are kept by the company's servants, makes humanity shudder. It is not unusual for a master to send a native servant to the zemindar, to receive a flagel-

flagellation at the cutcherry ; or to collect by a military force, twenty or thirty Englishmen, inhabitants of the settlements, and to confine them in a dungeon in the new fort for a day or two. This was done on a simple verbal order from lord Clive ; the occasion was this : complaints had been made that many Europeans kept public houses for the retailing of a spiritous liquor called perrier arrack, to the soldiery. They were immediately ordered to be taken and carried to the new fort ; and the execution of this commission was left to the black seapoys, who were dispatched for that purpose. As it was left to the discretion of those ignorant people, many innocent tradesmen were apprehended with others who really did sell this liquor, and all were promiscuously conducted to prison in this wanton manner. As there was no legal redress or satisfaction to be obtained, the injured parties were obliged to suppress their complaints, and to hide their past resentment.

The reader will hardly entertain a doubt that the mere will of power has been the sole rule of justice in Bengal, either with respect to dominion, property, personal safety, or the infliction of punishment next to death² or whatever the president and council, or whatever kind of junta has of late years been appointed to rule at Calcutta, by the court of directors in London, have not there exercised such unbounded despotism, as was wholly incompatible with the laws of this kingdom, those of humanity, or such as would be thought intolerable even in Turkey or Barbary?

The

The pretence of governing Bengal by a nabob under a great mogul, is a most scandalous imposition, those puppets of sovereignty being no other than pensioned instruments of imposture and tyranny. While the annual charge upon the revenue for the support of those agents in sway has at one time been above a million sterling. These deductions from the company's income have been made a fund or reversion for the private purses of their ruling servants in these countries, who have deprived the wretched natives of their undisputable right of appeal to the laws of this kingdom, while they are bereft of protection from the justice of their own country.

By the oppressive monopolies introduced with the sanction of Lord Clive and his secret committee, whose pernicious system still operates at Calcutta, not only the inland trade, which was ever free by the constitution of those countries, to all who should pay the established duties, but even the coasting trade, has been partially engrossed, to the obstruction and injury of numbers, for the enormous advantage of a few. The monopoly of the inland trade, as now exercised on account of the company itself, is become the most grievous of all others, as it is under the sanction of their purchases, that all oppressions in this department are effected, such monopolies exclude even the natives from all free trade, and their situation is rendered the more insupportable, as the public regulations are pretended to be made for their benefit. Some appearance of freedom in exports has indeed been preserved in the subjected Bengal provinces; but yet there have been such obstructions and embarrasments

fragments in dealings, and such monopolizing of workmen, as have frequently occasioned the past complaints of the French, Dutch and Danes. The causes of them still exist to the great grievance of the people, and the injury of the country, the known consequences of those evils have been the loss of foreign trade, on the back parts of the provinces, from which great wealth was formerly derived to them, the lessening of a similar reserve from the trade of the other discontented companies, and so great a scarcity of money in circulation, as will soon leave these provinces in a total want of specie for the exigencies of trade, if the draughts from thence for China and the other parts of India are continued. While the manufactures are going to destruction, and population is decreasing with the public revenues wasted or misapplied, the possession of Empire threatens the company with irretrievable distress. Every principle of true policy has been inverted in practice to the injury of the natives, and the effectual discouragement of European settlers, who as well as the civil servants, have on several occasions voluntarily taken arms in the cause of the company. Lord Clive during his last presidency, informed the court of directors, that no dependence could ever be placed on the powers of the country for any thing but treachery, and should a favourable occasion offer for it, the worst of all treatment, and indeed in future times of war and danger, it may be found impossible for the company to keep up European forces sufficient for all kinds of service in the conquered provinces, without promoting the free emigration of British subjects to India.

The security of the company's possessions requires this encouragement and protection as an extensive population, that is interested in the defence of a country, must naturally be its most safe and effectual support, against foreign invaders and such natives as may be inclined to revolt; but the opposite policy with respect to those countries has been uniformly pursued abroad, and the present directors have adopted a system calculated to discourage the emigration of free merchants and free mariners to India; if we attribute to ignorance, these impolitical measures, they are unqualified for the direction; and as to design, we must suppose that such abuses served their private views at home, as those of their favourite substitutes abroad.

The mixed government of the nabob and the company, since the acquisition of the important territories, which were subdued by the subjects and forces of the state is a solicism in legislation. It is even a national disgrace to hold them under such specious colours as pretended grants of official contracts from nominal princes, that no power in the world acknowledges, except such as would make the same temporary uses of them, as the English East India company have done. There is something excessively absurd in the very idea of vesting an unlimited sovereign authority on a mercantile society over the princes and the natives of the country, as no real security either to the company or to the kingdom, can ever be derived from nominal nabobs or moguls; for if their grants are disputable, they have had immense annual stipends paid to them to very little purpose: and if the temporary power they have been permitted to assume

be

be of real efficacy in India, then such concessions must be re-assumed at pleasure, and even transferable at will ; and of course the rivals or enemies of Great Britain might have a fair pretence to deprive her of these acquisitions.

When the Portuguese acquired their first territorial possessions on the coasts of India, their kings stiled themselves, as they continue to do, lords of the commerce and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India ; and no European nation ever disputed those titles or their right to the territories they had obtained. By whatever means the provinces of Bengal fell under the yoke of the company, they now are indisputably the property of the state : and as there is no sovereign in India, who can lay lawful claim to them ; his Majesty's title to these dominions both by conquest and peaceable possession cannot be disputed. The political establishment in Bengal, in the year 1765, was therefore as unnecessary, as it has since proved pernicious and the affected fears with regard to foreign powers on the avowal of English sovereignty over the conquered provinces in Indostan, so artfully infused into the minds of directors were equally groundless and insincere.

The King of Great Britain is now an Asiatic Potentate, more capable of protecting the natives than any other power in the East ; and it is an insult to majesty to suppose his object will be the mere support of a monopolizing community who perhaps are no longer necessary for answering even the ends for which they were incorporated. The question now is not simply, if the company in consequence of their chartered privileges, can carry on exclu-

five the trade to and from the East Indies to greater national advantage than the subjects of Great Britain at large? but another more important is; if two or three men, of which consists the junto of leaders in the committee of correspondence, selected among twenty-four directors annually chosen; can at the same time govern or conduct the company's commercial affairs, and the sovereignty of a large and populous empire, at such a distance, to greater national security and advantage, than the king, lords and commons of Great Britain.

In answer to the first question I will venture to assert, that with respect to Bengal, every argument in favour of that monopoly, which was formerly used with some appearance of reason, while the trade thither depended upon the country powers of Indostan, falls to the ground, now that the company are become sovereigns, as it would be right to lay the trade open to all British subjects, and agreeable to sound politics to encourage, under certain limitations, even the ships of all other European nations to frequent these Indian ports. With respect to the second question, it will be generally granted, that a commercial country with a despotic sovereign who is the only merchant, as is in fact the present condition of Bengal; must be on the verge of ruin; and if it be admitted that all resources which this nation hopes to reap from those subjected dominions, must depend entirely on their prosperity; it will then follow, that there is an absolute necessity for the British legislature to separate the merchant from the sovereign, for the preservation of both.

As soon as we have been favoured with the particulars of major Munro's campaign, we take the opportunity to fulfil our engagements to the public, in doing justice to the great abilities of that excellent officer.

On the 13th of August 1764, major Munro arrived at Patna, and took the command of the army ; and next day he issued out the following order. " A regular discipline and strict obedience to orders, is the only superiority Europeans have in this country over the natives, and therefore cannot be too much attended to; it is most earnestly recommended by major Munro to all the troops, to submit to it with readiness and chearfulness, which will always enable them to be victorious in the gallant and brave manner they have hitherto been, and will not only redound to their own reputation, but will be the greatest satisfaction and honour they can confer on any officer who has the honour to command them " This was followed by a long detail of orders, and a well digested plan of manoeuvres fit to evince the skill and judgment of the commander in the day of action. These were to be put in practice when the weather would permit. As the army was separated in different cantonments, the officers commanding these respective bodies were desired to acquaint the brigade major the night before a field day, with the standing orders, and they were to make their report to major Munro, as the army had lately been mutinously inclined. He ordered the articles of war to be read at the head of each corps once a fortnight, and in the next day's orders " Recommends it strongly to the officers who have lately come into

the service to insert into a book all orders, and also to have a copy of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland's standing orders for the army, such of the officers as have them not, may call on the brigade major for them." Here the major arrived at Patna tooner, in all probability the mutinous disposition of the seapoys might have been quelled in embryo by his prudence and spirited conduct. The major in the first instance introduced a strict military discipline which he found had been much neglected by his predecessor major Carrac, and being apprized of the murmurs and discontents of the seapoys on account of the division of the nabob Jaffer Ally Cawn's donation. On the 24th of August 1764 he issued out the following orders

"From the late behaviour of some of the seapoys, it becomes necessary to have the following orders read and explained to all the seapoys of the army at their different cantonments in presence of their officers

"It is major Munro's firm resolution to treat the seapoys in every respect as soldiers, to give them all their just rights when they behave well, and their just punishment when they behave scandalously, although the donation money was an indulgence that none had a right to ask, it has been divided according to the appointment and approbation of the nabob who gave it, and therefore cannot admit of new alterations

"Major Munro is sorry he gave it at all, as the licentious, mean and unsoldier like behaviour of the troops, of which the army was then composed in respect to that donation, will be a reason why
no

no such indulgence will ever be permitted again to them, or any army in India.

“ The seapoys, as well in cantonments or quarters as in the field, shall always be on the same footing as the other soldiers ; that is, when the Europeans have full or half batta, the seapoys shall have the same, and when they think themselves aggrieved, they are to apply to their officers in a decent and obedient manner, which will be the surest way of obtaining what they desire ; the major hopes in future he shall have reason to praise and thank instead of reprovng and punishing them, and as the season approaches for making towards the enemy the whole army are to hold themselves in readiness to take the field.”

The sparks of sedition which had been kindled by the French soldiers in our service and fomented by the English, from different motives ; occasioned a fermentation amongst the seapoys ; no care had been taken by the last commanding officer to prevent the fatal consequences of this defection. He left that arduous task to the officers who commanded at the different cantonments. They did every thing which might be expected from military knowledge and experience, and the troops with the assiduity of the subaltern officers were kept in tolerable order : however, two battalions that were stationed at Moneah did mutiny, but were soon brought back to a sense of their duty.

The roots of the evil still remained, and some of the seapoy officers having endeavoured to poison the minds of their fellow soldiers, they were again ripe for a revolt,

The

The 11th of September captain Galliez's battalion of seapoys, one of those under the command of major Champion at Chupparah mutinied and went off, captain Trevanion's battalion of seapoys were sent after them and came up with them at night when they were asleep, disarmed them, and brought them back.

Major Munro cut off entirely the root of this evil had twenty four of the ringleaders immediately tried by a general court martial of their own officers, and on the 13th the following orders appeared

" At a general court martial held at the cantonments near Chupparah, on twenty four seapoys of captain Galliez's battalion of seapoys, confined for being taken in actual mutiny and desertion, the court having duly weighed the crime alledged against them, found them guilty of the first and third articles of the second and fifth section of the articles of war, therefore sentence them to be put to death, by being blown away from the guns - which sentence is approved of by the commander in chief, and is to be put in execution accordingly "

Eight of them were blown away from the guns at Chupparah On the 15th six more were blown away from guns at Bankipore, and the others from the different cantonments

From this many and well timed exertion of authority, good order and subordination were re-established among the troops

On the 9th of October the colonel marched from Bankipore in search of the enemy, and so well had he concerted his measures, that when the

the army from Patna arrived on the Eastern banks of the river Soan, major Champion appeared with his detachment from Chupparah, marching on the west side of the Soan, and to the south captain Goddard with his battalion advanced to join the army. The whole army crossed the river Soan at Culvergot on the 11th, in a most regular manner by divisions, the army being divided into three.

Major Stibbert is to post a proper guard at the water side, in order that the embarkation may be carried on in a regular manner, agreeable to the general orders prescribed for that purpose." And orders were given that none of the boats which served as transports for the troops, should go ahead of captain Wedderburn's armed boats who are to lead the van." As the divisions crossed they formed upon the banks of the river. In the mean time, the field officers of the day, with the quarter-masters and camp colourmen, marked out an encampment at a convenient spot from the river side. When the whole of the army had crossed, they marched in a regular manner to their encampment.

The 12th the army halted : they were drawn up in front of the encampment and told off in platoons, sub and grand divisions, firings and wings, and their arms and ammunition review'd.

The 13th the army marched by files in two columns abreast of each other, and this day it was in orders how to form the line of battle, either on being attacked in camp, or on the march.

On the 14th the major in order to shorten the line of march, ordered the columns to march by platoons instead of files.

October.

October 19 After having marched through a close country, the advanced guard under the command of major Champinn came to the banks of a Nullah, over which was a bridge, on the opposite banks were perceived about four or five hundred of the enemy's horse Major Champion ordered lieutenant Mair, who commanded a party of black cavalry, and Mr Sirdel who had under his command about fifteen or twenty European horse to charge the enemy the European cavalry led the van over the bridge, and attacked the enemy with great resolution, the black cavalry thus encouraged, fell pellmell upon the enemy, who gave way and retreated with great precipitation for about a mile across a plain, until they arrived at a village called Arrall As soon as the enemy arrived at this place they separated to the right and left, which made way for a shower from the musketry of a large body of the enemy who lay in ambuscade This unexpected salutation made our cavalry immediately wheel about and betake themselves to their heels The enemy who had been pursued from the Nullah, in their return attacked our people, and were joined by above double their number, who rushed out from behind the village

In vain did lieutenant Mair and the other officers of the militia exert themselves, to make them keep in a body Fear had seized them and they were no longer governable, the Europeans kept better together Mr Sirdel who commanded them did wonders with his own hands after killing three of the enemy, he was attacked by a fourth in armour He made a cut at him, but found it had
no

the supposed enemy, they turned out to be the remains of a parcel of trees cut down for firewood by the enemy; they were cut about four feet from the ground, the lop of the stumps appeared red like seapoys uniform.

It was in orders that the army should march the next morning at six o'clock, but afterwards countermanded. The major's intention was to march and attack Sujah Dowlah in his intrenchments; in the evening he held a consultation with his field officers, in consequence thereof the major altered his first resolution, and the army remained on the same ground.

All the next day to refresh the troops, and to storm the enemy's intrenchments in the night. Captain Jennings (of the artillery) who had served the campaign before under the command of Major Carnac, when that officer meant to take post at Buxar, levelled a village in the rear of the enemy's lines, with the view of throwing up works of defence. He was able from this to inform Major Munro of the situation of the ground the enemy was intrenched upon; and as Mr Nicol had assisted him, and had measured from the nullah to Buxar fort, he acquainted Colonel Munro that this officer could give him a better account of it. Mr Nicol was accordingly sent for by Major Munro to inform him in respect to the situation of the ground, and to know whether he would undertake to carry the army by the nullah to the rear of the enemy's lines. He undertook to do it, provided the major's Harcarahs would conduct the army from their present encampment across the plain to the nullah.

Major Munro cautious and resolute, payed great
at-

attention to military order and the art of war ; he ordered a battalion of seapoys to be placed in a village in front of the left wing, and Lieut. Mair with his rassalla of cavalry in a zone in front of the right wing, and other necessary guards were advanced, and precautions taken to prevent a surprise. The better to blind the enemy, and make them believe that we meant to attack their intrenchments by a regular siege, major Champion the field officer of the day, was, early on the morning of the 23d, ordered out with all the bildars to erect (a good way in front) false batteries, that the enemy might have no suspicion of our design at night. But Sujah al Dowlah, prevented our scheme by marching out of his intrenchments, and offering us battle. After break of day, major Champion discovered movements in the enemy's intrenchments, which indicated preparations for battle. At first, he only imagined it to be a detachment to oppose the building of our sham batteries ; but it turned out to be the enemy's whole army. When major Champion had perceived that it was the enemy's whole army, and that they were marching down to attack us, he gave information thereof to colonel Munro, who could scarcely credit the temerity of Sujah al Dowlah, which was the reason we were so long in forming our line of battle. They advanced slowly, now and then firing their cannon. Major Champion returned to camp with his seapoys and bildars, and major Munro ordered the tents to be struck, to be ready to form in order of battle, which was done agreeable to orders that had been issued out the 13th inst. Captain Morgan who commanded a battalion of seapoys, and had the

vanced post at a small village in front of the left wing of the front line was ordered to join the army. They made a shocking retreat; instead of marching like soldiers, they ran like a flock of sheep — Lieutenant Mair was ordered into the rear with his rassaia, and to take upon him the command of the whole of the black cavalry, amounting to about 1500. The troops were ranged in battallia about nine o'clock in the following manner:

A front and rear line, and corps de reserve. The front line consisted of the king's troops, a detachment from Bombay, two companies of the Bengal battalion, four battalions of seapoys, four twelve pounders, ten six pounders, and two howitzers. The king's troops to the right of the centre, the company's to the left; two battalions of seapnys to the right of the king's, two to the left of the company's; betwixt the king's and company's troops, four six pounders; betwixt the king's troops and the seapoys, a twelve, a six pounder and a howitzer; betwixt the company's and the seapoys, the same; To the right of the seapoys, a twelve, and two six pounders; to the left, the same.

The rear line consisted of the company's battalion, four battalions of seapoys, four six pounders, and two three pounders belonging to captain Smith's battalion, which they were indulged with for their gallant behaviour under lieut. Glyn in repulsing seven thousand of the enemy.

The company's battalion in the centre of the line was divided by two six pounders; to the right of the Europeans, as well as the left, there were two battalions of seapoys, and a six pounder to

the

the right, and another to the left; the seapoy guns remained with their battalion.

The corps de reserve consisted of the grenadiers and the European troops of cavalry, and were stationed about fifty paces from the centre in the rear of the front line.

Major Champion commanded the right of the front line, major Stibbert the left, major Pimble the rear line, and captain George Hay of the cavalry the corps de reserve.

We had a morass to our left, in front of our left wing was a village, in front of the right wing was a zope, the space betwixt the village and zope was a plain; to the right of the zope was another village which was beyond the right of our line; in the rear was a village into which all the baggage of the army was ordered, and the black cavalry, of which we had about fifteen hundred, and four companies of seapoys were ordered as a protection in it, under the command of lieutenant Mair.

Sujah, al Dowlah advanced firing his large cannon, which reached us before our's could do execution; a large body of the enemy paraded behind the village which was our advanced post, and marching round were coming through the morass to attack our left flank; but on captain Hay who commanded the body of reserve, marching up to cover our flank (until half a battalion of the front line, and half a battalion of the rear line fell back agreeable to the plan of the battle, to make a face of an oblong square) they were surprized into a halt, and our guns being brought to bear upon them they went off, and collecting in a larger body made a circle into our rear, and attacked lieut.

Mair

Mair who commanded the baggage guard, from their numbers the enemy obliged our cavalry to seek protection from our lines, lieut Virtue who commanded the four companies of seapoys betook himself to the village in the rear, and defended himself until the guns of our rear line made way for him to join the army. The enemy who thought they had gained an advantage in beating our cavalry, were going to attack our rear line, however their courage failed them, and only a few advanced and fought for death in the field of honour. An officer of rank advanced up to the grenadier company, who desired him to give his arms up, but this he refused to do, and upon making a cut at one of the grenadier company, he received him upon his bayonet and discharged his piece at the same time.

While this happened in the rear, the enemy brought eight pieces of cannon in the village in front of the right wing which they fired very smartly upon us. Major Munro sent his aid de camp, captain Gordon to captain lieutenant Peak, who commanded major Stubbert's battalion of seapoys to the right of the front line, to advance and dislodge the enemy of the village, and take their cannon. This order though repeated, was not obeyed, lieut Nicol who was aid de camp to major Stubbert who commanded the left wing, and adjutant general to the seapoy corps, was ordered to take the command of the battalion, and to advance with it. This officer accordingly marched up with the battalion, dislodged the enemy from the village, and took their cannon. Lieutenant Har-

per,

per, with captain Smith's battalion of seapoys were afterwards ordered to reinforce him.

The enemy were now come pretty near us, major Munro therefore ordered both the lines to march to the right; the troops having crossed the morafs to the left, he ordered the front line to charge. When the enemy saw our line advancing, they wheeled off to the right, and marched out upon the plain. Summerow with his seapoys, and six pieces of small cannon, mounted in the European manner, went off in excellent order. When the enemy in our rear failed in their attack upon our rear lines, and our guns begun to play upon them, the line gave a great shout; the enemy imagining from this that we had gained some signal advantage over them, retired upon our line advancing: but the true cause of their going off was the loss of their guns which played upon our right; when the enemy lost these guns, their left was drove through the zope upon their centre. This occasioned some confusion amongst them; they were so crouded betwixt the village to their right, and the zope to their left, that they were obliged to extend their line upon the plain to the right; this was not done by the enemy with an intention of quitting the field of battle, but our front line advancing at this juncture of time, that which they meant only as room for action, ended in a real retreat. When our seapoys in advancing observed the enemy marching out upon the plain, they gave them a ding, or huzza, at the same time captain Widdings's battalion advanced out of the line, and in a most confused manner fired their pieces, and advanced in a very irregular manner so the enemy's intention

ments, who had left them unguarded in their rear : while this was going on in front, lieutenant Nicol who had advanced to the village on the right with major Stibbert's battalion, and lieutenant Harper who had joined him with captain Smith's battalion, marched straight on to Buxar fort, which the enemy had deserted as well as their trenches. The enemy had not gone far into the plain when they made a sort of halt, and seemed as if they had had an inclination to return and attack us again ; however, they went off, and seemingly very discontented. The advanced battalions of seapoys kept marching on until they came to a nullah, a little beyond Buxar fort ; major Munro came after with the whole army, and encamped upon its banks. There was a wooden bridge over the nullah built by the enemy ; on their retreat the numbers which crowded over it broke it down, and when our troops arrived, they beheld with compassion, number of sutlers and followers of their camp in distress, endeavouring to save themselves and their properties from a victorious army, who looked upon them and their all as their just right by conquest. Men, women, boys, girls, were promiscuously sticking in the nullah, which was almost dry from water, but there remained a deep thick mud which there was scarce a possibility to pass ; they endeavoured to lead through camels, horses, tatoo-horses, and bullocks laden with goods.

The enemy were so confident of victory, that when they marched out and offered us battle, they left all their tents pitched, and in this manner fell into our hands, besides goods which were taken in boats, &c. amounted to upwards of four lacks of

rupees. We took in the field and in the intrenchments 165 pieces of cannon. We had near eight hundred men killed and wounded in the action; the enemy's loss we could not so well ascertain, because their horse carried them from the field as they fell, but their loss must have been very great, for our artillery was well managed.

The major turned Buxar fort into a storehouse and hospital, the enemy experienced his humanity from the care he ordered to be taken of those of their wounded who were taken.

This victory due to the skill of the commander, and the valour of his troops, cleared the kingdom of Bengal of a formidable and most dangerous enemy, and by major Munro's conduct and management, a mutinous army when he took the command, was brought to excellent order and discipline, his march and disposition in the field of battle cannot be too much commended. The colonels eminent services merited the command of Bengal or Madras; his timid predecessor was on the eye of being appointed to the government of Bombay, as a reward for the exertion of his military abilities in 1764. Major Munro is the man to whom the East India company owe their present existence in Bengal.

We remained four days at and near Buxar to bury the dead, to collect the enemy's guns and stores, and make ourselves fit for action again. The 25th, major sir Robert Fletcher joined the army, and in the evening a detachment of 200 Europeans, rank and file, three battalions of seapoys, 200 black cavalry, two six pounders, and one twelve pounder, were ordered to be ready to march

march under his command the next morning. The intention of this detachment was to fall upon the rear of the enemy as they were crossing the Ganges; but the colonel receiving information that most of them had got over, the detachment did not proceed, and he crossed the Ganges on the 27th with the whole army a little below Buxar fort, leaving an officer with four companies of seapoys to defend that fortress.

We did not now enter Sujah al Dowlah's dominions like major Carnac's detachment, we did not march like ruffians making depredation wherever we went, nor ravaged nor oppressed the innocent farmers; we entered the country like a civilized nation whose honour was at stake, to chastise the prince who had insulted the English flag the campaign before; and to shew him what might be the consequence of such an attempt in future, and oblige him to make reparation for the present. Major Munro therefore on the 29th, gave out the following order:

"The soldiers are strictly forbid to go out of the lines: any that are found *plundering, or setting fire* to the villages will be punished with the utmost severity. Major Stibbert will please to have these orders carefully explained to the seapoys."

And next day when the order of march was given out, this order was again repeated in the following manner;

"No plundering on any account whatever, without a special order, whoever shall be detected therein contrary to these orders shall be immediately hanged in sight of the whole army: these orders are to be read and carefully explained to all the
black

black troops." And to prevent, if possible any of the men incurring the penalty of disobeying these orders The major on the 2d of November, ordered "a company of seapoys to attend at the head quarters, in order to be posted at the different villages as the army passes to prevent their being plundered or burnt." Notwithstanding these precautions, on the 5th, a mogul was detected plundering, and as the major was determined to have his orders obeyed, he ordered the mogul to be hanged in front of the camp, at five o'clock the same evening. This day the 5th, was a very long march, which was occasioned by the major's desire to reach the Gumpty river, over which we were obliged to construct a bridge, and on the 7th in the afternoon we crossed it.

On the 8th we encamped near the famous city of Benaras, and immediately after the major issued out the following order. "None of the troops or followers of the army are on any account whatever to go into Banaras, or out of the limits of the camp, on pain of being severely punished, and if any person is detected plundering, he is to be immediately hanged." And next day "a detachment consisting of a captain, two subalterns, two serjeants, two drummers and fifty rank and file, were ordered to do duty in Banaras, and to be relieved every 48 hours" This was in consequence of a treaty betwixt major Munro and the inhabitants of Banaras, in regard to ransoming the place, which was saved from plunder for four lacks of ruprees, which ought to have been four times that sum.

We found the king of Delhi Shaw Allum at Banaras with a few forces under his command. In consequence of a negotiation which was on foot betwixt him and the major for investing him with the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah; a battalion of seapoys were ordered on the 20th to encamp in front of his camp on the Allahabad road, as a safe guard for his majesty; and as the major thought of marching farther into the country after Sujah al Dowlah, he ordered on the same day; "Mr. Wood is to acquaint major Munro how many carriage bullocks are in the different buzars; how many there are remaining of the company's carriage bullocks, and to enquire if any are to be had with proper saddles and bags at Banaras; or if they are to be got in the country by any means, and to find out if carts or any other methods are used in this country for carrying grain over land, he is also to let him know the quantity of grain now in the boats;" and the contractors are ordered on the 22d to provide biscuit for the men according to custom immediately, and what else he should have for the use of the army.

On the 25th the king was saluted with nineteen guns, on the treaty being concluded betwixt him and the major on the part of the company; and it was in orders the day before, for "such of the officers, as will be off duty to-morrow, who choose to wait on the king, and wish him joy of being put in possession of Sujah al Dowlah's country by the English, are desired to meet at head quarters at nine o'clock to-morrow morning: it is necessary to acquaint them, that it is customary to make him a ~~farem~~ ^{farem} on the occasion, and the least that should be given

given by a captain is five gold mohurs, and three by a subaltern."

Things being thus settled with the king, the major before he left the army to proceed for his native country, wish'd to reduce the strong fort of Chunar; however in this he did not succeed. A detachment of two battalions of sepoy's, and two hundred Europeans rank and file, including the pioneer company, with a captain of artillery, two twelve pounders, two six pounders, one eight inch howitzer and two royals, besides two eighteen pounders, which were sent up the river in the armed boats, and they passed Chunar-Fort in the night time. Major Pemble of the Bombay detachment had the command, and was ordered to march and lay siege to the fort. Captain Poles who had been appointed field engineer, was ordered with the detachment with 500 bildars with pickaxes, &c 300 lascars, and 60 carpenters with felling axes, &c.

Chunargurr fort in the Hindostan is situated upon the West side of the Ganges. The day after the detachment marched and set down before the place, the major marched up with the army, and encamped upon the eastern banks opposite to the fort, where he erected a two gun battery, which was of no other service than annoying the enemy in their houses by the river side.

The major at this time received information that the enemy were making head to return and try their fortune once more in the field. He therefore on the 28th gave out the order of battle, should the army come to action.

Major

Major Pemble reporting the breach practicable, it was stormed next morning an hour before day. Our men at first marched up the hill with the greatest resolution, but large stones which the enemy rolled out of the breach, and on each side of it threw them so often down, and rolled them back again by twenties at a time. What with their endeavours to clamber up so steep a rock, and their being so often tumbled back by large stones rolled down upon them, our people were at last so fatigued, that they were obliged to give it up. Captain Dow who commanded a battalion of scapoys, now a lieutenant colonel in the service, and his serjeant were the only two that got up to the breach, one on each side; here they remained some little time unsupported, at last, they were rolled down among the others; captain Dow from the top to the bottom of the hill, his skull was fractured by a stone for which he was obliged to be trepanned.

I will take upon me to say the bad disposition major Pemble made of the storming party, was the reason of our miscarriage. The major ordered the scapoys in front of the cadets, and the grenadiers to follow them: the consequence was, that while some of the scapoys were rolled down by the stones, others came tumbling down through fear; they carried all those who were behind them, before them down the hill; it was impossible it could be otherwise in so steep a place: had the cadets and grenadiers gone up first, it is natural to suppose that many of them would have got up, just as well as captain Dow and his serjeant, and had
fifteen

fifteen men taken possession of the bastion close to the right of the breach on the first day's assault, it would have secured to us the first. This was endeavoured to be rectified on the 4th, when we again stormed the place, but it was too late then. The enemy's spirits were revived by our repulse: they defended the place much better on the second attack, and rolled such amazing quantity of stones, that our people could not enter the breach, though they did every thing which might be expected of brave men; they were therefore drawn off when day appeared.

Major Munro on the 5th, shewed the sense of this miscarriage in the following words.

“ The commander in chief is fully convinced from the report major Pemble has made him, that the two assaults made on Chunar fort miscarrying, was owing to no misbehaviour of the troops, but to the steepness of the ascent, and so many being disabled by the number of large stones which were tumbled down from the breach; he is much obliged to the officers for their gallant behaviour, and desires the men may be assured he shall always regard them in the same manner as if their endeavour had been attended with success ”

We had not many men killed at the two attacks, but great many bruised from the stones. Mr. Wilding, a cadet, was left much wounded at the hill, of which he afterwards died, he was brought off by two seapoys, for which brave action they were appointed tamidars, by order of major sir Robert Fletcher, commander of the company's troops, which was a judicious and well-timed promotion, as an encouragement to future acts of bravery.

On

On the 6th, the army marched back to Benarās, and encamped there the 7th, but before the major raised the siege, he, on the 5th, gave out the following order:

“As an action is soon expected with the vizier; it becomes necessary that the detachment should join the army, leaving a sufficient force to prevent provisions and stores being brought into the fort; the action being over; the siege will be carried on again.”

Sujah al Dowlah having collected together his scattered forces, was marching towards us, and it was thought he would attack us again. Major Munro therefore, when we arrived upon our ground at Benaras on the 7th of December, gave out the order of battle, should the army come to action; and the troops encamped as they went to form in order of battle, with the guns in the intervals. The detachment that was to be left to prevent provisions and stores being thrown into Chunar fort, joined the army.

On the 10th, the army marched to a more convenient spot for covering Benaras, and five companies of seapoys were sent to take possession of a hill and tank to the left of the encampment; and on the 12th, a company of seapoys were sent to take possession of a small fort in front of the camp, and other necessary guards were placed to prevent a surprize; and on the 28th, it was in orders, “for all the guards, advance posts, and centinels are to very alert, particularly in the night time, the enemy having marched nearer our camp.” Ever since our arrival at Benaras from Chunargurr, we were kept in continual alarm of Sujah al Dowlah’s marching

marching down to attack us; every precaution was therefore taken to prevent a surprize. The king encamped with the few troops he had on the west side of the Ganges, opposite to Benaras, and the major sent captain Dow with his battalion of seapoys as his body guard. Our advance posts and Sujah al Dowlah's lying parties of horse were always skirmishing. We cannot conceive the meaning of major Munro laying so long at Benaras inactive with his victorious army, except he had positive orders from the council at Calcutta not to proceed farther up the country. On the 5th of January 1765, the following order appeared: "Major Munro being now to quit the army, once more returns his thanks to the army in general for their good behaviour since he has had the honour to command them; and if ever it be in his power to oblige any of the officers in particular, it will not only give him infinite pleasure, but they will find him both ready and willing."

The major set off for Calcutta next day, accompanied by many of the officers

The command of the army devolved upon major sir Robert Fletcher.

If we consider impartially all the disadvantages under which major Munro took the command, his achievements and the happy consequences of his glorious and successful campaign deserve the highest commendation and the everlasting gratitude of the company, which they should have manifested before now, by a conspicuous reward of his eminent services. The army under his predecessor having entertained an unfavourable opinion of his military conduct and abilities, had been made contemptible

ble to an enterprizing prince, jealous of the aggrandizement of merchants become sovereigns; and who was apprehensive of their hostile intentions; after the nabob of Bengal was become their wretched tool and subdued pensioner. The neglect of discipline, and unpardonable oversight of subordination, added to the misconduct, irresolution, timidity, injudicious and contradictory orders of their commander, in disheartening the troops, refused to act in the field offensively, and with that vigour which is the soul of military operations had imbibed in their minds that despicable idea of their leaders which made them prone to disorder and mutiny.

Major Munro shewed from the beginning to the conclusion of this campaign, which reflects honour upon his steadiness, valour, and sagacity, that he was fit to command soldiers. He intimidated a mutinous army committed to his care, on the first symptoms of their murmurs and discontent; encouraged them by his example and his kindness, when brought to a due sense of their duty; punished and rewarded them according to their deserts; and by his spirit and perseverance, rendered victorious this very army which had been insulted by Sujah al Dowlah, who was made sensible of his error and presumption, in encountering forces which were an overmatch for his numerous legions, when properly commanded.

We are drawing very near the time that lord Clive's unlimited powers in India were at an end; the effects of his civil and military regulations there, as every unprejudiced reader must have observed, were severely felt by oppressed individuals, and destructive of the company's reputation and
prof-

prosperity. Instead of making effectual, justice and personal security, by an equitable administration throughout the Bengal provinces, the immense riches of many of the Indies were locked up, which if openly employed in commerce, would have proved of an immense benefit to these countries, and eventually to this kingdom. There was during his unpopular government, no money to answer the purposes of the industrious husbandman, merchant and manufacturer. The natural fertility of these provinces was rendered useless, and in danger of being inevitably ruined, and the ample field which should have been opened for the most strenuous exertion of all human abilities, and soon put those provinces on the most flourishing condition, to the great advantage of the British state, was become a scene of rapine and desolation; an uncontrolled monopolizing committee, to which the noble lord presided, was destructive of that freedom and industry which make a commercial country prosperous; they were continually infusing into the minds of the directors erroneous opinions to favour such schemes as were most conducive to their private views, and some of the company's servants, gentlemen of the greatest honour and integrity, know how the credulity of the rulers at home have been imposed upon. Nothing, therefore, but the establishment by parliament, of the strongest constitutional checks on the executive power in Bengal can ever secure to the natives or those who settle there under British protection, an equitable administration.

All the world knows at this time the power which the noble lord assumed of obstructing, per-

verting, and influencing the due course of justice; his lordship with his secret committee, made no scruple in all cases of seizing their fellow subjects, of imprisoning and transporting them to Europe without trial, or any form of legal process; they increased all kinds of oppression through the countries of the nabobs, forced to give them a sanction; they pretended they had authority to prevent any British subject whomsoever from residing or establishing himself, even without the company's territories in India.

The inhabitants could never be secure either in person or property as long as the mayor's court at Calcutta was totally dependent on the governor and council. The jurisdiction of his majesty's courts should not be confined within the Maratta ditch, which surrounds Calcutta, but extend to all the company's settlements, where the natives should have the same facility of obtaining justice against European oppressors or their agents, as at Calcutta.

The inhabitants who have groaned under the worst of despotism, will see with the utmost joy the interference of the British legislature in the impartial distribution of justice. It is to be hoped, that they will make such regulations as will put a stop to all the glaring abuses and vexations mentioned before; and form a system that will prove effectual to relieve the national reputation, so vilified by all sorts of depredations.

In order to prevent this species of kidnapping in India, which has been hitherto practised in India by the company, under the pretended sanction of the legislature, it is necessary to enforce the ancient laws, by an act of the 31st stat. of Charles II. entitled

titled "An act for the better securing the liberty
 of the subject, and for prevention of imprisonments
 beyond seas;" it was enacted that "if any inhabit-
 ant of England should be seized, imprisoned,
 transported, or put a prisoner into any places be-
 yond the seas, contrary to that act; every such im-
 prisonment should be adjudged illegal, and the
 party aggrieved might thereupon maintain an action
 or actions of false imprisonment against the person
 or persons who so imprisoned him; or against any
 person or persons that should frame, contrive,
 write, seal, or countersign any warrant or writing
 for such commitment, detainer, imprisonment, or
 should be advising, aiding, or assisting in the same,
 or any of them; and the plaintiff in every such ac-
 tion should have judgment to recover his treble
 costs, besides damages; which damages so to be
 given, it is enacted, shall be no less than five hun-
 dred pounds; in which action no delay, stay, or
 stop of proceeding, by rule, order, or command;
 nor no infraction, protection, or privilege whatsoe-
 ver, nor any more than one importance shall be al-
 lowed, excepting such rule of the cost whereon the
 action shall depend, made in open court, shall be
 thought in justice necessary for special cause to be
 expressed in the said rule: and the person or
 persons who shall knowingly frame, contrive,
 write, seal, or countersign any warrant for such
 commitment, detainer, or transportation, or shall
 commit, detain, imprison, or transport any person
 or persons contrary to this act, or be any ways ad-
 vising, aiding, or assisting therein, being lawfully
 convicted thereof, shall be disabled from thence-
 forth to bear any office of trust or profit within the
 said

said realm of England, or any of the dominions thereunto belonging; and shall incur and suffer the pains, penalties, and forfeitures limited, ordered, and provided in and by the statute of perversion and premunire, made in the sixth year of king Richard the second, and be incapable of any pardon from the king, his heirs or successors, of the said forfeitures, losses, and disabilities, or any of them; and it is known to the major part of the British subjects, that according to the 43d article of Magna Charta, a fundamental law and irrevocable, "No freeman shall be taken, nor imprisoned, nor disturbed, nor outlawed, nor exiled, nor destroyed in any manner; nor will we pass upon him, nor condemn him but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

An officer who had been seized and carried by force into confinement at Calcutta, by lord Clive's orders, sent to his lordship an abstract of this act; the noble president answered coolly, that he paid no regard to this obsolete law, which was cancelled by the martial laws. It is proper, however, that all British subjects should be acquainted with whatever is conducive to their freedom and safety in the remote dominions of this extensive empire.

Lord Clive continued and avowed this practice in defiance to the spirit and letter of the fundamental laws of this country, as of Britons who go out to India in the company's service, had forfeited the privileges of their birth-right, by such emigration. The assuming of this power is ever contrary to the true interests of the company, as the free exercise of the British laws in India must be the best check, and perhaps is the only controlling

author-

authority they can have over their own superior servants. There is therefore, for the sake of public credit and security, not only a necessity for declaring all such seizures and transportations illegal, but for establishing such legal penalties and forfeitures, upon the plan of the act already quoted, as shall effectually prevent such oppressions in future. and as the British legislature is now acquainted with the enormities that have been practised in Bengal, they will prevent in future the practice of the company's seizing, imprisoning, transporting and ruining their fellow subjects unaccused and unheard.

The powers of molesting British subjects established in India, is equally unjust and repugnant to the real interest of the acquired provinces in Bengal. Every encouragement should be given to Europeans to go out and establish themselves in India, for the security of these acquisitions, and for the instruction of the natives in the useful arts, in the cultivation and manufacturing of all the articles produced in these countries, as there is great room for improvements in most of them.

From what we have already published, it is evident that the dominions in Bengal can never prosper under such an oligarchy. Now is the time for Great Britain to avail herself of these advantages, which a series of fortunate circumstances have thrown in her way. She has yet in her possession the most valuable provinces of Indostan, which with proper management might be rendered the richest jewel in the British crown, by being made an inexhaustible source of extensive commerce, maritime power and national wealth.

Should

Should the affairs of the company in Bengal continue to be administered for a few years longer, as they have been for some years past, these countries would be irretrievably ruined, and the exasperated natives would seek their own relief, or revenge by insurrections and massacres. If therefore the legislature should longer withhold their effectual protection and paternal care from the oppressed estates, they will hazard all the resources which Bengal at present may be said to offer to this kingdom: and if the proprietors of the East India stock should refuse their effectual and hearty concurrence in every salutary measure for the relief of the native inhabitants, they will justly deserve to suffer the losses of such of their property as depends on the trade and possession of the Bengal provinces.

Humanity must revolt at lord Clive's maxim that the interests of the India company are incompatible with the happiness and prosperity of the natives under their dominion. The honour of the empire never can consent, for the paltry consideration of a temporary emolument, to effect the devastation of such rich and fertile countries, and the extirpation or ruin of so many millions of civilized, inoffensive and industrious inhabitants; or to sacrifice that solid and permanent advantages which might be derived to this country from a proper system of government.

At the requisition of several persons, and that the emigrants in India should not be ignorant of the terms they engage in a civil or a military capacity, we shall record the different covenants and licences under which British subjects resort to the East Indies for the purpose of residing there.

. It is well known by the charters, and acts of parliament confirming them, which are at present in force, and were originally enacted with a view only of securing to the company the exclusive right of trade to and from the East Indies, that no British subject can safely venture even to breathe the air of India without having first obtained the permission of the company ; those who resort there in a military capacity are comprehended in the divers stations of the service, from the common soldier and cadet to the general officer ; and the civil department includes covenanted servants, free merchants, or free mariners.

. In the regular course of the company's business, as established after the union of the two companies, it has been usual except on some very particular occasions, for the civil servants to go out as writers, not under, and generally at the age of sixteen years, on their own petition and request ; and to raise by rotation or seniority in India to the stations of factors, junior and senior merchants, counsellors and governors. Such petition being considered and granted by the board of directors, they offer to the young candidate a long printed indenture to sign, as drawn up by their own lawyers, wherein among other articles, the youth is made to sign certain agreements and conditions between the company and himself, as follow :

“ That upon the special request and intreaty of him, N. the company has received him into their service, as their writer, factor, or otherwise, to serve them for the space of five years, to be employed on their business in any place within their limits, between the Cape of Good Hope and the
straights

freights of Magellan, and engage to pay him for the same the wages (usually fifteen pounds per annum for a writer) and he N engages that until the full expiration of the said term, he will serve them honestly and diligently, observe and fulfil all orders of the company or their representatives in India, resisting all those who shall endeavour to break such orders or instructions; will not do or suffer to be done any thing to the company's prejudice; give the directors the earliest intelligence of all deceits, wrongs, abuses and breaches of orders, and that he will keep and conceal the company's secrets (it is something remarkable that this covenanted obligation to keep and conceal the company's secrets, is without exception, and not limited to lawful secrets, contrary to the general practice authorised by the laws of England, where the covenanting servant binds himself to keep his master's lawful secrets, nor can legally bind himself to do more. But in regard to the East India affairs, all terms and conditions must be absolute; and yet, it is possible for the East India company to have secrets, which it would be a very great error for any British subject to conceal) and he N also covenants and agrees, that before he leaves the company's settlements he will faithfully pay and discharge all such sums as he may be justly indebted to any of the black merchants, or natives, or to any other foreigners or merchants, not being subjects of his majesty.

It is worthy of observation that though the company make hereby their servants engage not to quit their settlements without first discharging,
all

all debts due from them to the natives ; yet they now make no scruple of suddenly forcing those who have incurred their displeasure to return to Europe, without troubling themselves about the justice due to the natives ; because, they have nothing to fear from the present nabob's in consequence of any complaints which the natives can make.

And upon condition of his keeping and performing his covenants, the company agree, that for the said term of years, he, the said N. shall be freely permitted to trade and traffic for his own account only, from port to port in India, or elsewhere within the limits aforesaid (but not to or from any place without the same) without any interruption or hindrance from the said company, or their successors ; so as the said trade be subject to such rules and limitations as the court of directors shall from time to time direct or appoint, and be not to the detriment of the company or their commerce. And further, in case he the said N. shall waste or make use of the company's treasure, become indebted to the company, or in any wise make default in performance of his covenants, in such case he shall not be entitled to any of the advantages intended him ; but on the contrary, it shall then be lawful for the company, or their governor and council to seize and detain the effects of him the said N. until satisfaction be made. And for as much as grievous complaints, as is said, have been made to the company, that several of their governors, counsellors, factors and other servants, have committed very heinous and grievous affairs in their factories, and other places within their said

M

limits

limits of trade; by unjustly menacing, Imprisoning, assaulting, abusing, and evil treating the natives and black merchants, and by means of such violences, abuses and injuries, have extorted and forced great sums of money and other valuable effects from such injured persons, who by reason of the great distance from this kingdom, and the wholesome laws thereof, and by the reason that the said company have not been enabled to obtain and render satisfaction for such injuries, have been remediless: therefore it is also covenanted between the said N. and the said united company, that in case the said N. shall be accused of any such violences, it shall be lawful for such injured persons to send over complaints and attestations of such misdemeanors, in writing, to the court of directors, to whom it shall be lawful to enquire into the truth of such complaints, by all such ways and means as they shall think just and equitable, and to judge, determine and award satisfaction and reparation for the same, to be made to the said company for the benefit of such injured persons by the said N. who agrees faithfully to pay the sums so awarded.

And for as much as it frequently happens, as is said, that the servants of the company, by a combination among themselves, adjust and pass their own accounts with the company, in order to preclude any review, alteration or contest of the same; it is therefore further agreed, that all and every account of the said N. with the said company, so stated, adjusted, balanced or signed in the East Indies, shall at all times be taken and esteemed to be open accounts, formed and prepared only for
the

the inspection, correction, or approbation of the company, and shall not in any article bind or conclude them. And the said N. covenants also, that he will not be concerned directly or indirectly, in any sort of commerce from Europe to the East Indies, or from the East Indies to Europe, on his own account, under penalty of paying double the value of all goods so traded for, of forfeiting all benefits and advantages intended him by and from the said company, and of ceasing of being their servant or agent. And in order to a discovery of, and a satisfaction for such illicit trade, the said N. consents, that it shall be lawful for the company to file any bill or bills of discovery against him in the chancery or exchequer, to which he will not demur, or plead in bar of discovery, nor alledge any matter whatsoever, whereby to prevent or preclude the company from the relief sought by such bill; and in consideration of the discovery, or disclosure arising from a true and full answer of the said N. the company agreed to be satisfied for the damages, on account of the said illicit trade, upon receiving the sum of fifty pounds for every one hundred pounds of the goods so traded for, in lieu of the aforesaid double value of the same. And lastly, it is provided that if the said N. continues longer than the said term of years in the service of the company, such continuance shall be upon the same terms and conditions as are specified in the said indenture; save and except, that if the said N. shall rise to any superior station, he shall receive such wages as are usually paid to officers and servants in the like advanced stations."

To one part of these indentures given to N. the company's secretary sets their common seal; and the other part left with the company is executed in form, under the hand and seal of the articulated servant, who also gives security in the sum of five hundred pounds, for the performance of his part of the covenants, and trusts to the honour of the company for the performance of theirs. The same covenants have been usually entered into by those who went out in any superior station, varied only with regard to the period of servitude (if there is any difference) a larger salary, and giving security for a larger sum.

The writer gives security for the performance of his covenants in the sum of

Factor	_____	_____	_____	£. 500
Junior Merchant	_____	_____	_____	1000
Senior Merchant	_____	_____	_____	2000
Counsellor	_____	_____	_____	3000
Governor	_____	_____	_____	4000
			_____	10,000

The indentures or covenants into which it has been usual for those to enter who go out under the denomination of free merchants, are in substance as follows:

"That N. having upon his own special request obtained permission of the court of directors of the said united company, to go to some of their settlements, there to dwell and inhabit, together with free liberty to use and exercise any trade and commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwise, in any commodities whatsoever, to and from any ports

To one part of these indentures given to N. the company's secretary sets their common seal ; and the other part left with the company is executed in form, under the hand and seal of the articulated servant, who also gives security in the sum of five hundred pounds, for the performance of his part of the covenants, and trusts to the honour of the company for the performance of theirs. The same covenants have been usually entered into by those who went out in any superior station, varied only with regard to the period of servitude (if there is any difference) a larger salary, and giving security for a larger sum.

The writer gives security for the performance of his covenants in the sum of

Factor	_____	_____	£. 500
Junior Merchant	_____	_____	1000
Senior Merchant	_____	_____	2000
Counsellor	_____	_____	3000
Governor	_____	_____	4000
			10,000

The indentures or covenants into which it has been usual for those to enter who go out under the denomination of free merchants, are in substance as follows :

" That N. having upon his own special request obtained permission of the court of directors of the said united company, to go to some of their settlements, there to dwell and inhabit, together with free liberty to use and exercise any trade and commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwise, in any commodities whatsoever, to and from any ports

ports and places in the East Indies, or elsewhere, within the limits of the company's charter, but not to or from any place without the said limits. It is covenanted and agreed between the said N. and the said company, that he the said N. as also his wife, if he shall have any, together with such children and servants as have the liberty of the said company for that purpose, shall during the time of their respective abodes in the East Indies reside and dwell at as inhabitants thereof; and shall not remove to, or reside in any other place or part of the East Indies, save at—, and that N. if he shall so long live, shall and will reside, and be at one or other of the said places for the term of five years, before his return to Great Britain, unless he shall obtain liberty to return sooner, by writing from the court of directors: and that he will not receive any consignments from Great Britain, except only for diamonds and diamond boart, or such commodities as shall be licensed by the company, he N. paying to the company's governor one per cent. upon the value of such consignments. And also, that neither he N. nor his wife, children or servants, by his privity, shall directly nor indirectly; write or cause to be written over to Europe, any thing or matter relating to the company's trade in India or Europe, except to the court of directors; nor be concerned in any trade or merchandize from Europe to India, or from India to Europe, other than such as be licensed by the said company. And also that he the said N. will give a faithful account of his trade from port to port to the company's governor and council, at the place where he shall reside, in order for the same to be entered in a register

gister at the factory. And that he will pay all such duties and customs as shall be appointed by the company or their representatives, at the ports or place where such trade shall be carried on; and will be subject to such other regulations, as they shall think reasonable, for the better government of their trade in, to and from the East Indies. And N. further agrees, that when ever the company, or their court of directors shall apprehend his residence or trade, within the limits aforesaid, to be inconvenient to them, and shall thereupon order him to remove to Great Britain, he the said N. shall and will, within one year after notice, transport himself, family and effects to Great Britain, in the ships employed by the said company and no other: which effects shall be returned in diamonds or diamond board, or such other commodities, as shall from time to time be licensed or allowed by the company, or else in bills of exchange drawn on the said court of directors and not otherwise. And the said company do covenant, promise and agree to and with the said N. that upon his observing and performing the covenants and agreements, in the said indenture expressed, faithfully and truly, he the said N. shall enjoy the company's protection, within the limits of their charter. And the said N. further engages, that he will not trade, correspond; or deal with any person or persons, who do or shall trade within these limits, by or under, or by virtue of, any foreign commission, licence or authority whatsoever, nor with any person or persons; with whom he shall be forbid to trade; nor will be aiding, abetting or assisting towards the carrying on of any illegal, unlicensed or clandestine trade.

trade whatever, nor wittingly suffer any damage or interruption to be done or given to the affairs or commerce of the said company, but will do all in his power to make discovery of, and to prevent the same : and in case the said N, shall fail in the performance of these covenants, then by the first opportunity offering, after orders received for that purpose, he the said N, shall transport himself, family and effects to Great Britain, in manner as above mentioned . And in order to a discovery of, and satisfaction for, any illicit trade, it is agreed, as in the writer's covenant before specified, that it shall be lawful for the company to file a bill in the court of chancery or exchequer, the company agreeing, in consequence of any disclosure or discovery arising from, the said N. answers to such bill, to be satisfied with fifty pounds for every hundred pounds value of the goods so traded for, together with the produce of such illicit trade." These indentures are also executed and interchanged in the manner and under the condition already described.

Free mariners who have been considered as a class of less consequence, have usually been permitted to go out upon only giving security not to become chargeable to the company. Two creditable persons are jointly and severally held and firmly bound unto the united company of merchants, of England trading to the East Indies, in the sum of five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, to be paid unto the said company, for indemnifying them in case these free-mariners should become a charge to them . The court of directors in consequence of this convention grant them

them leave to reside in the East Indies under their protection, after they have given the security mentioned before, to indemnify the company, and the governors and councils of their settlements and factories in India, from and against all charges and disbursements whatsoever, which they may sustain, or be put into for the support and maintenance of the free mariners ; but if during their continuance in India, they receive no assistance whatsoever from the company or their representatives, then this obligation is void.

Until the year 1770, such have been the covenants and licences under which British subjects have resorted to the East Indies, for the purpose of residing there as merchants or traders. About that time there had been many complaints brought home against the company and their servants for injuries sustained by persons in India, in consequence of the power assumed by them of seizing, imprisoning and sending fellow subjects to England by force. To these oppressions many of the directors themselves had been accessary, by the very injudicious orders, they had from time to time sent to their servants in India, and they were therefore justly apprehensive that some evil consequence might accrue to themselves. In order therefore, to screen themselves in some measure from the odium and penalties they had reason to dread, it was determined to apply for the farther sanction of the legislature for this unconstitutional power, and upon a motion of the chairman of the board of directors, then a member of the house of commons.

On the 26th of March 1770, it was ordered in parliament, "that leave be given to bring in a bill

bill (which was at first spuriouſly) called a bill for compelling perſons diſmiſſed the ſervice of the Eaſt India company, to depart from the Eaſt Indies, and for better regulating the ſervants of the ſaid company, and for other purpoſes

The company not ſucceeding in attaining the new powers they aimed at by the bill ſo introduced, had recourſe to the covenants mentioned, which they new modelled, adding thereto ſuch clauses as were thought neceſſary for ſupplying the want of theſe powers, for which they had in vain applied to parliament

The free mariners are now licenſed only for a limited time, which is revocable, and they with their families are made liable to be ſent home by force at the pleaſure of the company. They engage themſelves to behave and conduct themſelves in all reſpects conformable to the rules, orders and directions of the ſaid united company, or of the preſident and council of their ſettlement. Nor to force directly or indirectly, or be in any wiſe aſſiſting to, or employed by, or for any foreign company trading in or to the Eaſt Indies, or any perſon whatſoever, who do or ſhall, during the continuance of theſe preſents, traffic, adventure or trade to in, or from the Eaſt Indies, or elſewhere, within the limits of the ſaid company's trade, by or under, or by virtue of any foreign commiſſion, licence or authority whatſoever, in default of performance of this covenant the company's preſident and council of their ſettlement were empowered after due notice, to oblige any free mariner to quit the ſaid ſettlement, and return to England. And in caſe of reſuſal to ſubmit to theſe orders, it

N

ſhall

shall and may be lawful to cause any mariner for misbehaviour, to be put forcibly on board any ship employed by the company, for the purpose of being transported to Great Britain at the company's expence. And further, by their covenant they promise and agree to, that they shall not nor will prosecute the company or their court of directors, or any of their presidents and council, commanders or officers of any such ship, in respect of such apprehending them, putting them on board forcibly and transporting them with their families to Great Britain. And in case any such action, suit or prosecution should be commenced, they agree with the said company, that the general issue may be pleaded, and this indenture, or any other special matter may be given in evidence by all or any of the defendants; in her discharge and defence thereof. And the said united company covenant, promise and agree, for themselves and their successors, that in consequence of this covenant, the free mariners shall and may peaceably and quietly trade and traffic in the East Indies, and shall enjoy the company's protection.

In the new indentures for the civil servants, all the clauses and stipulations of the old ones, which were favourable to the company are reserved, and the new additional clauses are in substance as follows :

“ That in case any of the civil servants shall make default in any of the covenants specified, or shall embezzle any of the company's money or effects, or be guilty of any breach of trust, or be concerned in buying or selling any fire arms, or warlike stores, to the natives without licence of the com-

company; or shall without such licence, hold correspondence with any prince, nabob or country power in India, or any of their ministers or shall supply, lend or procure for the use of any foreign company, or persons trading under their authority, any money at respondentia, or any other security, loan or engagement whatsoever, that in each and every of the said cases, it shall be lawful for the company or their representatives, upon conviction thereof to suspend or wholly dismiss the delinquents from the company's service, having first had notice given them of such an offence, and a reasonable time allowed them to make their defence. And it is further covenanted and agreed, that in case of such dismissal or in case these civil servants, shall choose during the continuance of their indentures, to quit or resign the company's service, and such resignation shall be accepted and agreed to by the company or their representatives, that in either of the said cases of dismissal or resignation, it shall not be lawful for them to enter into any new commercial concerns, but nevertheless they shall in either of the said cases have liberty and authority to sell their merchandizes and effects on hands, and collect in their outstanding debts. And the said civil servants are also made to engage that they shall and will, within one year after such dismissal or resignation transport themselves and families to Great Britain in one of the company's ships and in case they shall make default in this last mentioned covenant they do also thereby consent and agree that immediately after such default, it shall be lawful for the said company, or their representatives, to cause them

families to Great Britain, after giving them twelve months notice

Exclusive of the indentures mentioned before, which the company's civil servants engage in, not to receive from the Indian princes any presents in money, jewels, laces, &c. in compliance with a resolution of a general court of proprietors. They bind themselves that they shall not nor will at any times hereafter during the time they shall be employed in the company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by themselves or any other persons whomsoever, in trust for them, or for their use, directly or indirectly accept, take or receive any gift or gratuity of lands, or rents, or revenues issuing out of lands or any territorial possession jurisdiction, dominion, power or authority whatsoever, from any of the Indian princes, sovereigns, subjects, or nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants or agents, for any services, or upon any account or pretence whatsoever, without the licence or consent of the court of directors for the time being of the said united company, signified under their hands, nor shall or will at any time, directly or indirectly accept, take or receive any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, donation, or compensation in money, effects, jewels, &c. from any of the Indian princes or any of their ministers and agents, exceeding the value of five thousand rupees, for any service performed by the said covenanted servants in India without the same licence or consent of the said court of directors, nor any such reward, gratuity or donation, exceeding the value of one thousand rupees, and

under

under the value of four thousand rupees without the licence or consent of the president and council for the time being.

Gentlemen in the military service of the company have till lately been used to go out, without signing any covenants or agreements, as upon arrival in India they become liable to the martial law, agreeably to the act of the 27th of George II. and the articles of war established in consequence. But they are now also obliged to enter into covenants. Those who enlist as common soldiers have not been yet deemed of consequence sufficient to requite covenants, for being generally friendless and unconnected, the company have little to fear from them. The tyrannical practice of keeping up lock houses for recruiting the forces of the company in the very metropolis of the British empire, seems to have been imported from India : there these kidnapped wretches were kept close confined, without communication with their friends, till the company's ships were ready, when they were secretly conveyed on board.

The new indentures drawn up for the military gentlemen in the said service respect chiefly their engagements not to receive presents of the country princes, and the company's power of sending them to Great Britain. They covenant, promise, and agree that they shall not, nor will at any time whilst employed in the company's service, receive any grant of lands, territorial possessions, &c. from the Indian princes or nabobs or any of their ministers, nor any reward or gratuity exceeding the value of four thousand rupees for any services performed, or to be performed by them in India,

without

without the like consent of the court of directors, nor any gratuity or donation exceeding the value of one thousand rupees, and under the value of four thousand rupees, without the licence of the president and council for the time being. All the overplus is to be conveyed, assigned, and made over to the company for their sole and proper use and benefit, provided always that nothing contained in this covenant shall hinder or prevent the gentlemen in the military service from accepting or receiving a share or proportion in respect to their military posts and stations, of any gifts or gratuity in money or effects which any Indian prince or subah shall or may in time of extreme danger, necessity, or emergency give or bestow on any of the military officers or forces of the united company; provided such before gratuity, be with the privity and consent of the governor and council of the presidency where these officers or forces shall be employed, and no otherwise: and provided also, the same is not obtained or enacted by compulsion, or by way of bargain or contract for any service performed or to be performed; and as governor or president of any of the company's settlements in India, shall by virtue of his commission be authorized or intitled to accept or receive any share or proportion of any such gratuity or donation. And the military gentleman in the company's service covenant and agree that in case they shall be dismissed the company's military service by sentence of court martial, or by a resolution or order of the president and council of such settlement where they shall serve

serve or be; or as they shall otherwise legally quit the company's military service, than in any or either of the said cases, it shall be lawful to the company or their representatives, at any time after the expiration of six calendar months next following such dismissal from or quitting the company's military service, to carry and transport them at the expence of the company to Great Britain: such step employed in the company's service; as the president and council shall for that purpose appoint; and in case of refusal, to repair on board such ship by the space of ten days after notice shall be given, it shall be lawful for the said president and council then in such case, and they are fully authorised, to apprehend, detain and convey them forcibly on board the said ships.

It appears by these new indentures; that in case any military gentleman shall be dismissed the service by sentence of a court martial, or by a resolution of the governor and council of the settlement where he serves on, and he shall otherwise legally quit the said company's service in any, or either of the said cases; it is agreed to be lawful for the company, upon ten days notice after the expiration of six months from such dismissal or resignation to apprehend, detain, and by force transport him to Great Britain, for which it shall not be lawful for such military gentleman, or his heirs, to sue or prosecute

In the indentures of the writers, they engage to resist none who do ill, to do none themselves and to inform the directors of the evils done by others. Had the least of these duties been seasonably encouraged,

encouraged and attended to for the general advantage, by the directors, without suffering those party connections which have of late distracted the company's affairs, to suppress those acts dictated by reason and equity in consequence of their trust; it is probable these immense fortunes which have been so rapidly made in India by the company's servants, had not exposed the weakness and insufficiency of the coercive power of the gentlemen of the direction, over their substitutes; but the situation of their affairs in Asia would have been far more prosperous than at present, and neither attachments nor presentations would probably have been directed to these iniquitous courses which they have followed.

There is likewise mention made, in the new covenants, "that grievous complaints had been made of governors; counsellors, and other servants of the company having been guilty of evil treating and unjustly imprisoning the natives and black merchants, and by violence extorting great sums of money from them; who by reason of their being at such a distance from this kingdom, and the wholesome laws thereof, have been left remediless, and the company had not been able to obtain satisfaction from them." And on this account the company covenant with their servants, "That it shall be lawful for such injured persons to send over their complaints and attestations to the court of directors, to whom it shall be lawful to enquire into the truth of such complaints, and to judge, determine, and award satisfaction to the injured, by all such ways and means as they shall think just and equitable."

This clause may be said to imply an acknowledgment of the iniquities that have been long practised in India. Yet notwithstanding these precautions, the evils therein complained of, have of late years increased to the lasting disgrace of the directors and their servants. The insertion of this clause therefore, never has been of the least avail, either for the prevention or detection of these abuses, and we have not of late years heard of any rapacious governors being seriously called to account for such offences.

It behoves therefore the honour of the court of directors, who have for so long a time taken this department of justice into their own hands, to satisfy the nation in regard to the satisfaction they have given to the oppressed natives of Bengal, more especially since the whole inland trade and the revenues have been taken entirely under the direction of their chief servants in these dominions, which are reduced to the utmost distress.

As no information of this sort has been given, the public have reason to conclude, that such clauses are as unmeaning as they are unbinding and illegal.

But it is natural to enquire, how it became necessary for the aggrieved people in India to apply to a self erected court of judges in England, for relief by decisions, which in their natures must be arbitrary, when there are or ought to be, courts legally established on the spot fully competent for all good purposes, to the justice of which the natives, if they please are to be permitted to appeal. The directors have of all men the least pretence to object to the courts of India, which, if corrupted, it

is their duty to reform ; but which in fact cannot be corrupted except with their connivance at the malversations of their servants

It is therefore to be feared, upon a due examination into this matter, it will be found, that the aim of the directors, by taking upon themselves the power given by the clause under consideration, could be no other than to add to that dangerous despotism in India, which they have long ago assumed ; and that while they seem to discountenance some late notorious enormities, they have been screening the conduct of these very servants who have been accused of the most flagitious acts of oppression and breaches of trust.

The conditions imposed on the free merchant, merely in consideration of his licence, and the enjoyment of the company's protection within the limits of their charter, are in many points unreasonably secure ; particularly in obliging him to bind himself to continue for a stipulated term of years at the place appointed for his residence, however unpromising or even prejudicial it may prove to him. There at all events, according to the covenants, he must remain his time out, unless he can obtain a written permission for quitting it, although he is made to bind himself to continue for a stipulated term of years at the place appointed for his residence, however unpromising or even prejudicial it may prove to him. There at all events, according to the covenants, he must remain his time out, unless he can obtain a written permission for quitting it, although he is made to bind himself to leave India, with his family, on a year's notice being given him for so doing, on the simple plea that
his

his abode there is inconvenient to the company. He likewise binds himself to deal with no one with whom he is forbid to trade; which is a prohibition, that if made general against any man in India, is the most effectual of all means that could be devised to ruin him. And it is well known, that innocent and worthy men have been doomed to destruction, by those who have governed there.

It is evident from the present unfortunate condition of most free merchants now in India, and particularly in the provinces of Bengal, that it is not worth any spirited and industrious men's while, to solicit the company's protection, on account of the hard terms imposed on them in England, and the great restraints that have been laid on their dealings in India. This discouragement cannot be removed, till the happy establishment of more salutary regulations shall take place. The safety of these possessions, as well as the advantage of the kingdom call for a speedy reformation.

It is proper to observe, that when the licensed emigrants want to remit their fortunes to England, they must invest their effects in the manner only which the covenants prescribe, which is by remittances in diamonds or diamond-board, or by bills of exchange upon the company; both of which are sometimes impossible, the governor of Calcutta engrossing the diamonds, and even the directors sometimes having forbid their governors and councils to take money into their treasury for bills on them in Europe. Lord Clive gave strict injunctions before he left India, the last time he was absolute governor of the Bengal provinces, that no diamonds weighing more than two carrats should
be

purchased without his knowledge and consent. The real value of the diamonds he brought to Europe is not yet known.

If the covenants above described be legal, it is evident, that every British subject now emigrating to India, is lawfully exposed to unavoidable ruin, at the option of the directors or their substitutes, and actually bind himself to thralldom; for they agree with the company, that whenever it is convenient to them, they shall have the privilege of depriving him of the fruits of his labour and industry, imprisoning him, taking him from his family, and banishing him from one side of the globe to the other; to all these hardships and oppressions he will quietly submit, and neither he nor his heirs shall ever prosecute the company, or their agents for any loss or damages consequent of such transactions.

But if this is conformable to the present laws of England, with respect to persons of age, surely, with regard to the writers and cadets, at the age of sixteen years, it is an imposition on such masters to require from them such agreements to laws of their own making, as are calculated at a future period, to deprive these young persons of all benefit and protection from the laws of their country.

Before Lord Clive returned to Europe, the provinces of Bengal became a scene, of rapine, depredations, and the most oppressive monopoly. It seems this once flourishing, now wretched peninsula was abandoned to the most iniquitous speculations of his friends, creatures and dependents, who all came to their native country, loaded with the spoils of the East. There had been precedents of
govern-

governors banyans, who by making a traffic of duflucks, and other illegal practices, under the sanction of their employers, had acquired considerable fortunes. These banyans, who act as deputies and interpreters, in every department of the government as well as the commercial concerns of the English East India company in Bengal, they frequently carry on an extensive trade on their own account duty free, under cover of their masters duflucks.

Nabhoise,—Lord Clive's chief benyan, a man of no principles, and great commercial knowledge, proud, vain, ostentatious, but plausible and insinuating, by his skill and connexions became one of the wealthiest agents in the East, his riches were not known, and he had the policy to hide his views and his treasure from his noble master, whose plan he pursued with a relentless severity, for their mutual advantage and the ruin of the country. He spent within a few years after Lord Clive's return to Europe, lacs of rupees (120,000) in balls, feasts, and other entertainments.

Quid demin farit audet cum tunc fares

The absolute prohibitions of British subjects from going to India, except with licence of the East India company, now subsisting and even the arbitrary restrictions and treatment to which are subject those who obtain such licence, are no less contrary to the spirit and nature of the English constitution, than they are violators of the natural and social rights of mankind.

The

The exclusive right of trade to and from India, if legally to be given to any body of merchants, was all that could be granted with any colour of justice, even on the appearance of its being exercised to great national security. But that a sovereign of this kingdom can by any charter, however confirmed, transfer a power to one part of his subjects to imprison, banish and ruin another at their pleasure either for convenience, or from wanton malice and revenge, must be as repugnant to the justice and constitution, as it is contrary to the interest of the country.

For the right information on such interesting matters, we will here produce certain cases which have been laid before certain learned counsel; with the opinions that were returned them by the honourable William Murray, now lord Mansfield, the late attorney general, Charles York, John Browning, and Charles Sayer, Esquires.

Whether the East India company have any and what power over the subjects of England in general, or even their own servants in particular, both or either of them residing in the East Indies; Whether the company can order such persons to leave India and return to Great Britain, and in case of refusal, can the company put forcibly such persons on board their ships, and bring them to Europe? and whether the company can anywise, and how, prohibit any English subject residing in India from trading within the company's limits without their licence? and in case any such persons should trade, in India without such licence, have the company any, and what remedy to prevent the same, or to punish them for so doing, and in what manner

can they do so, and can they withdraw the licence of trading, which they have already granted to any of their own servants or others? and in case any such persons should trade after such licence is withdrawn, are they liable to any and what penalty, or can the company order them to Europe?

Answer by Mr. Murray. "The company may serve any British subjects who trade, or are found within the company's limits in India, without the authority from the company, and bring them over to England to be persecuted. The power the company has over their own servants seems to me not so much to depend upon the acts referred to, as upon the charters or by-laws of the company. If the licences are granted during the pleasure of the company, ordering the person's continuance in their service, I think they may be withdrawn, and afterwards the person will be liable to all the penalties for trading without a licence, and may be seized and brought over; but if the licences are for a time certain, or indefinite, and understood to be as long as the person licensed has a mind to trade. I do not see how the company can withdraw them.

31 January,
1756.

(Signed) William Murray.

Upon the surrender of a charter of the thirteenth of George II. the East India company obtained the 26th of George II. certain courts of justice, called the mayor's court at their settlements of Fort St. George, Bombay and Fort William at Calcutta in Bengal, for hearing and determining civil actions and pleas arising within their several jurisdictions.

It happens that several persons, privately and without any licence from the company, have from time to time gone to the East Indies, and have fixed themselves at some of the company's settlements, and carried on considerable trade in the East Indies for their own private advantage.

When such persons have acted to the company's prejudice, the company have given directions to the governors at their several settlements to send such persons to England. The governors make a difficulty in executing of such orders under apprehensions they may, at their return to England, be liable to actions for damages at the suit of such persons, and that in some cases it is not in their power to comply with the company's orders; and they give the following instances.

A person is ordered by the company to be sent to England; this person is a great trader in the East Indies; is considerably indebted to several persons at the settlement where he happens to be resident, and has also considerable effects in the hands of his correspondents in different parts of India.

By such person's being sent to England in consequence of the company's orders, his effects are embezzled; or sold greatly under value, his creditors in India lose their debts, and his effects in the hands of his correspondents are in a great measure lost, and the person himself ruined. And yet, if any of those reasons prevail, all the acts of parliament, made to prevent subjects going to, or residing in India without the company's licence, are rendered ineffectual.

Question. Whether notwithstanding these objections, the company may safely order persons to be sent to England, who have repaired to and resided in India, without their licence, and will the company's governors or agents in India, by obeying such orders, be liable to an action at the suit of the person sent home, if such person should make it appear he has thereby sustained great damage in his fortune?

Answer by Mr York "I am of opinion, that if a person has resided for a considerable time in the company's settlements, traded openly, been conversant with their governor's officers and agents, and amenable to their courts, such persons will be considered as having had a licence in substance, though not in form, by reason of the notice which the company must be presumed to have of his residence, and there acquiescing, without objection. That acquiescence would be sufficient to excuse him from the penalties of the acts of parliament. It seems scarce adviseable to exercise the authority of sending home persons who have gone to India without licence, unless it be recently after their arrival.

Mr Browning did also coincide in opinion with Mr Yorke, "as the serving of any persons who has been thus permitted to reside and trade in India for any considerable time, by which he must necessarily have contracted debts in trade, and have effects in the hands of, or demands upon other traders there, would have the appearance of great hardship, and would subject the person who should seize him to actions, and raise no small clamour against the company.

A person is ordered to be sent to England who owes money to several persons at the settlement where he is resident, and perhaps as unwilling to return. His creditor, either of his own accord or by contrivance with such person, enters an action in the mayor's court for the recovery of his debt, and makes an affidavit that such person was going to England : upon this an arrest warrant issues from the mayor's court, and the person is apprehended, and either held to bail or committed to prison for want of bail.

Question. What power has the company in such case over the person so arrested and held to bail, or committed to prison, the company's governor and council having no power or controul over the proceedings of the mayor's court, and what is to be done in such case ?

Answer by Mr. Browning. " The taking a person under the circumstances above-mentioned out of the hands of a court of justice, would in my opinion, be still more improper and unjustifiable. The governor and council at Bengal having in their letters to England, expressed their doubts with respect to the powers of sending to England, persons who may behave themselves, especially military officers, who till very lately signed no contract or agreement with the company, the court of directors think it highly essential for the interest of the company to have these matters ascertained, and to obtain farther parliamentary powers, if necessary.

Mr. Sayer having perused the papers and former opinions of council laid before him, to give his opinion touching the powers which the court of directors

directors or the company's presidencies abroad, have over the several orders of people residing in the East Indies, with respect to the ordering and sending them home in case of misbehaviour, or dismissal from the company's service or their own voluntary resignations, viz civil servants, military officers free merchants, seafaring people and their families, and any other persons residing in India, with or without the company's licence, and having also considered the powers of the company here, or their presidencies abroad, with respect to their taking or assisting the inhabitants for the necessary support and charges of government, and upon the whole

Question The court of directors desired Mr. Sayer's opinion as to what measures it will be proper for them to take, and what orders to give, in the several matters abovementioned to their several presidencies

Answer I do not find in the agreements entered into, between the company and their civil servants, military officers, and seafaring persons, any covenants on the part of such persons which oblige them to leave India and return home, though ordered by the company so to do, (be their continuance ever so dangerous to the company's affairs), excepting their agreements with the free merchant, who covenants, that upon being ordered by the company to leave India, he will within a year after such notice transport himself, family and effects to Great Britain

Had such a covenant been entered into by the civil, military, or seafaring persons, and they had refused to return to England, after proper notice

justice had been given them so to do, I should have had but little scruple in advising the company to bring them home forcibly; though they are not strictly within the description of those offending, who may be lawfully brought from India by force; but I think, a person brought from thence by force, who had covenanted to leave India upon notice, and refused so to do, would, upon an action brought for such force, recover damages too trivial for the company to regard.

As the company's stipulations with their civil and military servants are so very deficient, application should be made to parliament for a clause to be inserted in an act, that all their civil servants or military officers, who have been dismissed from or left the company's service, and all those whose agreements with the company for residence in India are expired and at an end, and shall refuse to leave India, in order to return to Great Britain, after three months' notice given to such who are military officers, and sea faring persons, and twelve month's notice to such who are civil servants, and free merchants, shall be subject and liable to all the penalties and forfeitures contained in the several acts of parliament for securing the exclusive trade to the company, against British subjects, who trade, or are found within the company's limits in India, without their licence or authority; such a clause, in my opinion, may be easily obtained from parliament, almost without debate, as the penalties have already been approved of by parliament, and the persons wanted to be included therein being fully within the description of trading,

ing, or being found in India within the company's licence.

12th Oct. 1767.

CHARLES SAYER,

Such were the opinions of the great lawyers to whom the East India company applied, upon the right in question: and the learned gentleman whose opinion is last, not only seems to encourage his clients to the practice, of imprisoning and transporting, because the damages that would in certain cases be recovered by the injured, would be too trivial to be minded; but also seems to have thought, that the company would readily obtain any powers for practising this species of tyranny, by only asking them of parliament.

Encouraged therefore by this opinion, and also instigated by these private motives the court of directors, by their chairman, then a member of the house, in March, 1770, attempted in parliament to obtain the passing of the bill already mentioned, which under the specious title of a "Bill for compelling persons dismissed the service of the East India company, to depart from the East Indies, and for better regulating the servants of the said company" was artfully contrived to extend the powers of the company, by the formal sanction of the present parliament. for this bill, in it's original form, did not alone respect persons dismissed the service, as would appear from the title, but extended indiscriminately to all British subjects, who were thereby to have been made liable to be sent from India to England by force, at the option of the company, or there

their governors and councils, ^{if} if seafaring or military officers, upon only six, and if company's servants, or free merchants, upon twelve months notice

A public spirited gentleman * who, having for many years resided in Bengal, as a free merchant and in the company's military service, was well acquainted with the evils consequent of the too great powers already exercised by the company, and who might himself also be materially affected by the intended bill, presented a petition to the honourable house of commons, representing that such part of the bill in question as respected the authorizing of the company to send to England any of his majesty's subjects from the British settlements in the East Indies without their own consent, or otherwise than by due course of law, was, as he humbly conceived, contrary to justice and the fundamental principles of the constitution and praying to be heard at the bar of the house, by himself or his counsel, against such part of the said bill

Counsel was accordingly retained, and prepared to be heard before the house, and the following reasons against the exceptionable parts of the bill were printed off, and distributed among the members of parliament, viz

1st " Because by this bill the Company will be impowered to inflict, upon British subjects, the most severe of all punishments, except death, viz. imprisonment, banishment, and total deprivation of property, not only without any legal process, but

* The gentleman to whom the public are indebted for this commendable conduct, was *Archibald Hair*, Esquire.

but even without accusation of any crime; a power which is conceived to be inequitable and oppressive in the highest degree, and such as is seldom exercised even under the most absolute and arbitrary governments in the world.

2dly. Because, under colour of this power, the governor and council of any settlement in India, upon the most capricious and causeless dislike taken against any British subject there, or on a rivalship in trade with any of the members of the council, may suddenly, and irretrievably effect his total ruin, though such person should never have been concerned in any trade, or other matters, that interfered with the real interests of the company, in any manner whatever.

3dly. Because there is not any just pretence for granting any such injurious or unconstitutional power to the company; they having, by laws and institutions already established and now in force, a sufficient remedy against any encroachments upon the privileges of their charter to the injury of their interests.

4thly. Because if it is even pretended, that there are any misdemeanours which the company is not empowered to punish, by any statute now existing, which may render the residence of any British subject in India dangerous, or prejudicial to their interest, they may easily be prevented by the covenants entered into with the company, or specified by the directors, and provided against by the wisdom of parliament, in a regular, legal and constitutional manner, by some judicial trial on the spot, in order to intitle the company to the exercise of such powers.

5thly.

5thly Because British subjects, going out and settling in the East Indies with the licence of the company, carrying with them the rights and privileges not only of men, but of the British constitution, which, it is apprehended, cannot be surrendered to any company of merchants, so as to render their freedom and property dependent—not upon general principles of justice and equity—not upon the known laws of their country, but upon the arbitrary and capricious will of such merchants or their servants

6thly. Because the granting such powers to the company would be contrary, not only to the general laws and constitution of Great Britain, but repugnant to those particular statutes, or acts of parliament now in force with regard to the company, which several acts, respecting the power of sending persons to England, relate only to persons going out to India without the licence of the company, and the preambles of the said acts, plainly shewing it was the view of the legislature to give encouragement for persons to go out, and reside and settle at the company's several settlements

7thly Because the mayor and aldermen, or judges of the king's court of record, in which all matters of property are determined, called the mayor's court, as well as the juries on all criminal matters at the quarterly courts of session of Oyer and Terminer, consist of free merchants, free masons, and company's servants, and if this bill should pass into a law, all the members of the said courts and juries would be reduced to so absolute and servile a dependance upon the company, that
the

the will of their governors and councils alone would influence or direct their decision, to the total subversion of all equity and justice ; which, it is presumed, cannot be intended by the legislature.

8thly. Because this bill, if passed into a law, would operate as an act *ex post facto*, respecting those who have already gone to India under the former powers which the company possessed ; and also as to those who have become settled inhabitants of the different presidencies in India, and who may have launched largely into trade, and other branches of lawful and useful occupations, under the assurance that the general protection of Great Britain was secured to them by the king's courts, without their being liable to be sent out of the country, upon twelve months or six months notice ; notwithstanding they may have numerous suits, claims, or demands, for themselves or others, against the East India company, or against the very men who are left to be the sole judges when those arbitrary orders are to be put in execution ; which must ruin credit, by destroying all security.

9thly. Because this part of the bill is calculated merely to favour the oppressive and selfish monopolies in the trade of the country, which have prevailed there of late years, to the great detriment of the true interest of the East India company, as well as of the nation in general ; for the promoters of this bill are desired to shew any one instance, where the residence of a free merchant, free mariner, or company's servant, in the East India company's settlements, can be of the least detriment

ment to the said company : on the contrary, the principles upon which the different charters have been granted, and the acts of parliament confirming them, invite European inhabitants from all parts of the globe ; and this bill would leave foreigners under more favourable circumstances than his majesty's subjects, since it is admitted, by act 5 Geo' I cap 21. that such persons, not subjects of his majesty, cannot be removed from the settlements, while they demean themselves agreeably to the laws of the community, which is all that his majesty's subjects are now contending for.

10thly. Because the motives upon which the act of the 5th Geo. I. cap 21. was passed, and also the motives upon which the act of the 7th of Geo. I. cap. 21. was passed, and upon which motives the present bill ought to be regulated, are artfully suppressed, and the reader is made to believe that these laws are actually enacted with a view to enable the company to send British subjects out of India, who were only carrying on the trade from port to port, or place to place, in that country, whereas the legislature never had any such intention, which (as has been said before) would have been contrary to the first principles of the establishments. But the whole view of the legislature was to prevent British subjects from trading to and from the East Indies, or acting under foreign commissions, as a recital of part of the said act will sufficiently shew *, and a view of the whole act will demonstrate.

* " And it is also provided by the same act, and by sub-
 Q^d 5thly.

11thly. Because the great numbers of his majesty's subjects in the East Indies rather merit the attention of the legislature, to restrain the tyranny

sequent laws, that all the goods, wares, merchandizes, and commodities, to be laden upon any ship or ships bound from the East Indies, or parts within the limits aforesaid, should be brought, without reeking hulk, to some port of Great Britain, and there be unladen, and put on land. Notwithstanding which just and reasonable provisions and restrictions, several of his majesty's subjects, not entitled under the said act of parliament, have presumed to trade into, and visit the said East Indies, and other the places aforesaid, in foreign and other ships, intending thereto load goods, and bring them into Europe, and land them in foreign parts out of his majesty's dominions, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and the diminution of his majesty's customs, and other duties. All which practices being considered, His royal highness George prince of Wales, then guardian of the realm of Great Britain, and his majesty's lieutenant within the same, was pleased, on the eighteenth day of October, which was in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, to issue forth a proclamation (amongst other things) strictly charging and commanding all his majesty's subjects not to serve on board any foreign, or other ships, with foreign commissions and colours, bound to or from the East Indies, or any of the parts aforesaid, or directly or indirectly to visit, hairent frequent, trade, traffic, or adventure into or from the said East Indies, or either the parts before mentioned, contrary to law. But notwithstanding the prohibitions contained in the said acts of parliament and proclamation, and in defiance of the same, several evil disposed persons have gone on to procure and obtain several foreign commissions and passes, and under colour thereof, or otherwise, have fitted out and manned several English and other ships or vessels, and have sailed with, or sent out the same, to trade and traffic in the East Indies, or other the parts also aforesaid. Now, to the intent that such collusive, fraudulent, and illegal trade and practices may be prevented, and that so considerable and beneficial a branch of trade may be secured to this kingdom, he is enacted, and declared, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and

and

and oppressions which have been exercised of late by the superior servants of the East India company, in order to creat monopolies, than to allow those servants any new extension of powers repugnant to the constitution, with a view to promote those destructive measures, whereby many thousands of British subjects must be exposed to ruin, and rendered servilely dependent upon the governor and council.

and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any of his majesty's subjects shall, from and after the twentieth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighteen, sail, go, or repair to, or be in the East Indies, or parts aforesaid, or any of them, contrary to the laws now in being, or contrary to the tenor of this act, every such person or persons so offending, shall be liable to such punishment, as by any law or laws now in being, may be inflicted for such offence.

And to the intent that such offender and offenders may be brought to justice, it is hereby enacted, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and their successors, to take, arrest, and seize, or cause to be taken, arrested, or seized, such person or persons, being a subject or subjects of his majesty, his heirs or successors, at any place or places, or where he or they shall be found within the limits or places aforesaid, and the person or persons so taken, arrested, and seized, to send and remit to England, there to answer for the offence aforesaid, according to due course of law.

And it is hereby further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person or persons, who from and after the fifth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighteen, shall procure, solicit for, obtain, or act under any commission, authority, or pass from any foreign prince, state, or potentate whatsoever, to sail, or go, or trade in or to the East Indies; or any the parts aforesaid, every such person or persons so offending herein, shall incur and forfeit for every such offence the sum of five hundred pounds."

12thly. Because, by the charter of justice of the 26 Geo. II. it is there recited, that the conduct heretofore pursued had very much encouraged not only our own subjects, but likewise the subjects of other princes, and the natives of the adjacent countries, to resort to and settle in the several towns of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, and other forts and factories, for the better and more convenient carrying on of trade, by which means several of the said towns, factories, and places were become very populous, &c. &c. Which sufficiently shews, that the acquiring of inhabitants, and carrying on the trade of the country, were principal motives for the different establishments. And whereas by the said charter, "the aldermen, or judges of the mayor's court, are to continue in their respective offices of aldermen for and during the term of their natural lives, unless their said places shall be voided, or themselves removed, in such manner as is therein after mentioned." Therefore, if this bill should pass into a law, all those wise and judicious institutions of our ancestors, to collect inhabitants, and to maintain the purity of the courts of justice, would be defeated; and those courts of justice, when deprived of their independence, could only remain the engines of oppression."

Every thing was thus prepared to bring this important matter to a full discussion before the house of commons; in the course of which many of the enormities committed in India, in consequence of the company's abuse of this unconstitutional power, of suddenly seizing, imprisoning and transporting their fellow-subjects, would naturally have become

come the object of consideration to the house ; but but the promoters of the bill, conscious of the badness of their cause, and dreading the consequences of such a discussion, took the more prudent part of agreeing to withdraw all the exceptionable clauses and amend their bill, which, after being purged by the committee to whom it was referred, at last produced the act of the 10th of his present majesty, intuled, “ An act for the better regulating persons employed in the service of the East India company, and for other purposes therein mentioned,” in its present form, wherein there is not one word mentioned about the seizing persons in India, and forcibly sending them to England. However by the expunging of those parts of the bill which were excepted to, respecting the extension required of those pernicious powers, a discussion was evaded which might have led to the relieving of British subjects from the difficulties under which they now labour from illegal imprisonments in India ; lest as they are to shift for themselves in combating laws of ambiguous and contradictory natures against a powerful and opulent company, under this farther disadvantage, that damages, when obtained, will be “ too trivial for the company to mind,” and of course too trivial to prevent any wanton breach of the laws, or to prove an adequate satisfaction for injuries so suffered.

Various have been the abuses practised by the East India company and their substitutes in Bengal, in consequence of this pretended right of seizing and forcibly sending subjects out of India, by such acts of violence and outrage committed in the British settlements within the districts of the charter,

as ought to kindle indignation in the hearts of every well wilter to his country and the human race, and draw on those who have been guilty of them, the utmost vengeance of the laws.

Though lord Clive had instructions to consult the council at large in all cases, the power of such determination was to remain with the noble lord and his committee. From this unconstitutional and extraordinary appointment derived all the evils which several proprietors of East India stock had foreseen. Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Dempster had presented a memorial to the court of directors, thinking it their duty to forwarn them on this unprecedented and dangerous measure. Their prophetic representations had then no effect, although events have so far justified their prediction, that there is now scarce one unprejudiced and well informed East India proprietor, who will not acquiesce to the general opinion, that all the disgrace and the discredit of the company are to be equally ascribed to the injudicious appointment of this supreme committee.

All the old servants of the company know, that when the noble lord and his select men arrived in India, they found the company's affairs in a very flourishing condition ; " Sujah al Dowlah beat from his dominions, and the whole mogul empire at our disposal. Lord Clive himself who had been appointed, in consequence of the alarm of the directors, on receiving the first intelligence of a war with Coffim Ally Cawn, and who had for his private emolument increased their apprehensions, acknowledged the prosperous condition of the company in a letter to Mr. Rous, dated Madras April

April 17th, 1765, and indeed peace and tranquillity had been perfectly established before the noble lord's arrival, in the provinces of Bengal, and the company's business was carried on with unanimity, as Mr Vansittart had laid the foundations of a free inland commerce, on which alone the prosperity of Bengal must depend.

Lord Clive himself discovered, while at Madras, that he had an auger stable to cleanse in Bengal, in consequence of the enormous presents received from Nizam Al Dowlah, by the gentlemen of the deputation from the council of Calcutta, who placed that nabob on the musaul in February 1765.

The presents received by individuals in Bengal, from their first making of nabobs, to the year 1766, as far as come to the public knowledge, taken from a report of the select committee of the house of commons, made in 1773, if not truly stated would appear hyperbolic. After lord Clive's arrival at Calcutta, with his trusty counsellors Sumner and Sykes, on the 3d of May 1765, so very rapid was their progress in inquiry, and so admirable was their intuition, that within three days they acquired a complete knowledge of the state of the country, and proceeding under oaths of secrecy to each other, they found in every department of public affairs nothing but corruption and anarchy. They had no sooner entered on the very important business of their extraordinary mission, than they resolved to abolish all the treaties and connexions that had been solemnly entered into, a short time before with the country powers, assuming to themselves the entire administration of all affairs, civil, R judi-

judicial, commercial and political ; annulling the legal powers of the general council, and rendering its monitors mere cyphers.

At a select committee held the 7th of May 1765, present, the right honourable lord Clive, president, William Brightwell Sumner, and Francis Sykes, Esquires. “ Resolved, that the following oath be taken by the several members of this committee.

“ I. N. do swear that I will not reveal to any person whatever, any of the proceedings of this committee, until the same be laid before the council, or until this committee be dissolved.

Mr. Alexander Campbell being appointed secretary, Mr. Edward Baber, under secretary, and Mr. William Rook assistant to the committee, the following oath of secrecy was administered to them.

“ I do swear to be true and faithful to the trust reposed in me by the secret committee, and to reveal to no person whatever, the proceedings of that department, until the same are laid before the council.”

In a letter from lord Clive to the select committee are these remarkable passages : “ I have the peculiar happiness of finding myself assisted by a committee of known abilities and incorruptible integrity.”

“ If we consider what has already come to our knowledge, we cannot hesitate a moment upon the necessity of assuming the power that is in us, of conducting as a select committee the affairs both civil and military of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see but anarchy, confusion, and what is worse an almost general corruption?

“ For

“ For the speedy settling of the company’s affairs, the power should be vested in the hands of a few ”

“ I will not add to my fortune one single rupee by the opportunities I might have as governor ”

In an answer to this letter declared by Mr Sumner and Mr Sykes, at a select committee held the 11th of May 1765, are these remarkable words. “ We are urged, my lord, by the most powerful motives to that unanimity which you recommend ”

“ It will be our ambition to assist your lordship with our utmost abilities, in raising the company’s affairs a second time, from the desperate state into which they were sunk through the luxury and corruption that prevailed among their servants ”

Such a declaration became the disinterested, immaculate and incorruptible Mr Sykes

It seems Mr Verelst, when a member of lord Clive’s committee, made no objection to the annulling of the treaties which existed in 1765, without consulting the council but his opinion was different in the year 1760, when he himself was member of the council, during Mr Varsittart’s presidency, and not consulted by the select committee

He declared his opinion, in the following words.

“ Mr Verelst begs leave to observe, that the board have been kept till now, entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the select committee relating to the present revolution, and their motives of it ; he, therefore cannot pretend to judge how far such a step was necessary, but thinks that in an affair of such immediate consequence to the company’s estate

estate in these parts, the most mature consideration of the whole board should have been first had."

"He cannot be blamed, as member of the this board, for expressing his dissatisfaction, at being made a cypher of in so critical a concern."

The reasons of lord Clive for transferring all the powers from the council to the secret committee, are explained in the following extract from the noble president's minute, at a consultation held the 24th June, 1765.

"I know by experience, that dissensions in council have often frustrated the most salutary purposes, and that if I had consented to sit in this chair, possessing the authority of government equally with fifteen other gentlemen, the company would have soon found themselves disappointed in the hopes they were pleased to entertain of my abilities to render them secure. A secret committee, such as I have now the happiness of being joined with, was I thought the proper medium between absolute power veiled in a single person, and dispersed in the hands of a whole board. It may be remembered, that powers equally strong and extensive were given to Mr. Vansittart alone, and in case of his death or absence, to Mr. Spencer and four other gentlemen, lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, general Carnac, Messieurs Verelst and Sykes: are they less to be trusted than these?"

"Whether the power of government is exercised with less abilities, integrity and disinterestedness by the present, than it was by the late possessors of each, time will determine."

The late establishment at Banaras which had been just determined by governor Vansittart and his

his council as expedient and beneficial for the company's affairs, was soon judged, by the noble president and his committee, to be neither necessary nor serviceable : and they accordingly resolved to withdraw the factory, without the examination or proof of any fact, and without any information taken of the value of the object they were about to give up for ever. The company were afterwards so well convinced of the bad policy of giving up the zemindary of Bulwantsing, that in the year 1771, they were very anxious to regain it, in exchange for the provinces of Korah and Illahabad. In short, at almost every factory, and in every department, the whole system of the company's business was so suddenly obstructed, subverted or changed, that the natives saw with equal surprize and contempt, that there was no stability in the measures of the company, nor any dependence to be made on their public treaties.

His lordship and the secret committee, observed that throughout Bengal, such was the general corruption of the servants of the company, that nothing could be met among them, but immorality, dissipation, rapaciousness, luxury and venality, and that the settlement conducted as it was, could not have subsisted another twelve month. They boldly asserted, that there were none holy to be found, to save Calcutta from impending destruction, except their own committee of select and disinterested men.

Such was the general purport of all the representations sent home at this period, to the court of East India directors, by the noble lord and his committee ; who from the secrecy of their proceedings

ceedings and correspondence, gave what colour they pleased to every public transaction, and every private character. And became in fact the framers of the opinion of their constituents, who from their implicit faith to these representations approved of all their measures and proceedings.

The fact is, that on this committee first assembling at Calcutta, they found the objects of their mission soon accomplished. The country was in peace, trade in a flourishing condition. The revenues were in a state of improvement, and every thing agreeable to the intelligence Lord Clive had received on his way when he wrote from Madras to his agents in London to raise money for him by every means they could, and invest it in India stock. Nothing therefore remained for the committee gentlemen to do in the great outlines of government, from which honour or emolument, could be reaped, however unjustly, but upon such a new system of government, as being neither to be defined or understood, should best serve their secret purposes.

All the ostentatious professors of the secret committee, who declared publicly their own disinterestedness and abhorrence of the rapid acquisition of wealth; their illiberal accusations of the company's servants in general, with their repeated representations of the strong necessity there was for immediately accomplishing a thorough reformation, injurious as they were to the whole body, were carefully calculated to impose on the public, and such directors as were not in the secret, by turning their attention at home toward objects of no importance, of the great ends of their mission, while

while these select men built their reputations and fortunes upon the ruin of their fellow servants

The lawful profits to be acquired by a fair trade when added to the emoluments of office, were decreed too scanty and precarious for rewarding the merits of this confederacy of reformers, which gave occasion for the establishment of their various commercial and oppressive associations, such as the private monopoly in partnership, which commenced in June, 1765, between lord Clive, Messrs Sumner, Sykes and Verelst, each one fourth part, for purchasing large quantities of salt, then in the hands of private merchants and in August, 1765, the monopoly of inland trade in salt, beetle nut and tobacco, which had been planned by his lordship during his voyage to India, and was afterwards adopted, because the noble president and his secret committee, found that to remove the inconveniences of a free trade, it was necessary to vest the whole in an exclusive company, according to their system of reformation all gradation of rank to posts of honour or profit in the service was entirely broken through, or the pretence of want of integrity From the number of promotions that were then made, and even some to the highest stations, it appears that a regard to capacity was out of the question In fact, every preferment was made from faction, private interest, or personal attachment

It was intimated that from the want of honest and able men in Bengal, four gentlemen, raw and unexperienced in the affairs of Bengal, and un-conversant with the country languages, were brought from Madras and taken into council

Another

Another disinterested combination of the gentlemen of the new council was, that of engrossing the importation of cotton from the coast of Malabar. The extent of their engagement in this meritorious business was to the amount of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was divided into shares. It may be said with great truth, that such engagements were destructive of all the resources of a trading and manufacturing community as a monopoly upon the necessities of life, and the raw materials for trade and navigation have proved the ruin and distress of the wretched and industrious inhabitants. Yet such were the boasted merits and services of the pretended reformers newly arrived from England and from Madras, who endeavoured to persuade them it was owing to their measures that order had been restored in Bengal, whilst their good example had checked the glaring abuses of rapine and oppression.

Mr. Johnston had the courage to declare an open war against lord Clive, and his secret committee, in retaliation for the private injuries he had received from their partial administration. Mr. Verelst, who through his lordship's manoeuvres, had the presidency of Bengal in view, in prejudice to Mr. Sumner, supported all the measures of lord Clive, and general Carnac had determined upon. The other members at the council board, at this time, were equally passive in all the president's transactions, as none dared venture to give his sentiments in opposition to any opinion of his lordship.

In the instructions which the select committee gave to lord Clive, dated the 21st of June 1765, for

of regulating his conduct, at the personal interview then intended with the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, for the purpose of restoring that prince to his dominions, one paragraph was penned as follows.

"It will be necessary however, that your lordship obtain a full grant, in the fullest terms for, carrying on a free trade through his dominions, with the privileges of establishing factories, wherever we shall think proper, to which shall be annexed such contiguous lands and districts as may be found necessary to the convenience and support of the settlements, we mean without charge to Sujah al Dowlah, or diminution of his revenues: but the keeping of Chunargur and other strongholds, and protecting our commerce by a military power, is a measure concerning the expediency of which your lordship will judge, from a further inquiry into circumstances."

In consequence of this instruction, it was expressly stipulated, by lord Clive and general Carnac, in the eighth article of the treaty of the 16th of August, 1765, with the vanquished nabob, that his highness "Should allow the English to carry on trade, duty free, throughout the whole of his dominions." And in order to secure the attachment of Bulwantsing and to guard him against the resentment of this nabob, whom he had betrayed in the time of action; by the 5th article, his zemindary was secured to him, under a fixed annual sum, which in fact made him more dependent on the Calcutta government, than on the nabob to whom they chose to make him tributary. After the adjustment of this treaty, it was suggested by his lordship

ship and the general, that the nabob had appeared extremely averse to the establishment of factories in his dominions. If we consider the nabob's dependent situation, and the distinct jurisdiction of the rajah, these pretended objections could not have been applied to the company's factory before established at Banaras, nevertheless this suggestion was afterwards used as an argument to justify the proceedings of the committee in withdrawing that factory; notwithstanding the treaty of August 1765, continued in full force, and was confirmed by a new one dated November 29th, 1768.

At a select committee held the 29th of October 1765; it was entered on the company's records, that Sujah al Dowlah had complained in a letter received by the noble president on the 28th of October, "that the business of his government met with great interruption from the gentlemen of the English factory at Banaras. Sujah al Dowlah had engaged to complete the payment of fifty lacks of rupees to the company, upon being restored to his dominions; in pledge for this payment, he had deposited two large chests of very rich jewels, in the factory of Banaras under the charge of Mr. Sage.

When lord Clive was at Banaras in the beginning of August 1765, he established Mr. Chumner as his agent to bring off diamonds directly from the mines. In order to engross to himself this valuable branch of commerce, he gave orders to his agent to make very large purchases of them.

To a charge against lord Clive transmitted to him by the East India directors, his lordship on the 30th of March 1772, answered in the honourable house of commons, as follows:

“ The

“ The second charge against me is a monopoly of diamonds. There are only two channels by which a servant of the company, can with propriety, remit his fortune. The one by paying the money into the treasury of India and receiving bills upon the company, payable in England; the other by diamonds.

By the acquisition of the Dewannee, and the successful endeavours of the select committee, the company's treasury was so rich, that we could not have been justified in drawing bills upon the company. It was necessary I should in some mode remit the amount of my jaguer. For this purpose and for this only, I sent an agent into a distant and independent country, to make purchases of diamonds. These diamonds were not sent home clandestinely, I paid the duty upon them; and these remittances upon the whole, turn out three per cent. worse than bills of exchange upon the company. This is all I know of a monopoly of diamonds.”

The first diamonds sent to England from this new channel were sold in London in the year 1766, by Mr. Abraham da Paiba, who declared them to be upon the whole fifteen per cent. better than the assortments that were then received from Madras.

In the month of July 1766, his lordship and general Carnac paid another visit to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, who with the rajah Bulwantsing, met them on the borders of the Bahar province at Chipporah. Strong injunctions were then made to the nabob for impeding the trade of several British subjects, and even for compelling them to quit the province of Banaras; and it was also recommended

commended to the rajah to lodge complaints against them. But the nabob having a personal regard for some of the company's civil and military servants was equally with the rajah averse to the doing him such an injury; on the contrary, intelligence was immediately sent from Chipporah to those settled at Banaras, of the secret measures that were thus carrying on against them. In consequence of an order issued by the board of Calcutta to Mr. Isaac Sage, the resident at Banaras, directing him on three days notice to send Mr. Bolt, a gentleman of unblemished character, who has experienced all the severity and injustice of unrelenting oppressors, down to Calcutta by force, and to put a stop to his business. In consequence of these instructions, on the 21st of August 1766, Mr. Sage, in company with Mr. Chumner, lord Clive's agent at Banaras, waited upon the rajah Bulwantsing, at his house called Durgakoon, and ordered him to put a stop to all the mercantile business of Mr. Bolt; the rajah instead of complying with this requisition, sent him private intelligence of it, with the strongest marks of his disapprobation of such treacherous measures. It is Mr. Bolt's case and sufferings already known, and the iniquitous proceedings that obliged him to resign the company's service, well authenticated in a late publication, it does not come within our province to recapitulate the numberless acts of oppression, which have deprived him of the fruits of his labour and industry.

It is impossible to conceive the meaning of the various orders which Lord Clive and his committee issued, to regulate the inland trade of the Ben-
gal

gal provinces, as by the convention of August, 1765, they had pretended to restore Sujah al Dowlah and the rajah Bulwantsing to the possession of the respective districts, they were pleased to assign them, if any faith could be placed in such agreements, these princes were to be left to the government of their own territories. Consequently the regulations of the presidency at Calcutta could not extend to Banaras, whether lord Clive and the committee acted as governor and council or as nabob of Bengal. They had ordered all free merchants, with all the European, Portuguese and Armenian agents from the interior country down to precedency.

Amongst the absurd regulations for the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, three Indian agents were appointed in preference to the Europeans. Those chiefs of trade had immense salaries allowed them. At one time a law was enacted, prohibiting any of the inhabitants from going beyond the limits of ten miles round Calcutta, without first applying for, and obtaining the company's permission. At another time, no merchant was permitted to purchase goods at the manufacturing towns without a license from the governor.

Thus, under the specious pretence of the company's advantage, and the good of the natives, the governing party secured to themselves all the profits arising from the management of the revenues, the trade, and manufactures of these extensive provinces.

In the general letter to Bengal, dated the 8th of February 1764, the court of directors, after observing, that the disputes and difficulties relative

to the country government, appeared evidently to have been occasioned by the unwarrantable means of carrying on the private trade of their servants, in prejudice to the nabob, both with respect to the authority and revenues justly due to him.

At all the manufacturing towns, the gomastahs of the company had the preference; for no private gomastah could do any business among the weavers till they were served. They alone decided all disputes, and it was under their sanction that all oppressions were practised, whenever there was a company's gomastah established.

At a period, that the company's servants engrossed almost the whole produce of the country. The directors in a letter to Bengal, dated the 26th of April, 1765, thus explain their sentiment with candour. "Treaties of commerce are understood to be for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. Is it then possible to suppose, that the court of Dehli, by confirming the privileges of trading free of customs, could mean an inland trade in the commodities of their own country, to the detriment of their revenues and the ruin of their own merchants?"

In support of the new and unaccountable measures pursued by lord Clive and his select committee at Bengal, with respect to the inland trade, his lordship made the following speech in the house of commons.

"Many years ago, an expressive embassy was sent to Dehli, to obtain certain grants and privileges from the great Mogul, in favour of the East India company, and amongst others was obtained the privilege of trading duty free. The
servants

servants were indulged with this privilege under the sanction of the company's name. The company never carried on an inland trade. Their commerce has been confined to exports and imports only. It is impossible that the servants should have a more extensive right than the company itself ever had : yet they claimed a privilege of carrying on an inland trade duty free. The absurdity of a privilege so ruinous to the natives, and so prejudicial to the revenues of the country, is obvious. At the revolution, in 1757, no such claim was set up ; nor was any such trade carried on publicly, or to my knowledge during my government, which ended in the year 1760."

Surely the courts who had the direction of India affairs, could not be ignorant that the goods provided for the company in Bengal were all commodities of that country. That every one of these commodities is occasionally in export, and that an exemption from duties upon their investment, was a diminution of the revenues of the court of Dehli, and tended to the ruin of their merchants. How could lord Clive seriously declare in the house of commons that there was no inland trade carried on in Bengal before the year 1760. Knowing that numbers of duffels had been granted for such private trade previous to the year mentioned ? The treaty made by his lordship in June, 1757, On setting up of Meer Jassier Ally Khawn immense sums were stipulated for restitution of losses sustained by the private merchants of Calcutta.

The noble lord, in the years 1765, and 1766, had in fact assumed all the powers of the great Mogul, and of the East India company. Consequently

quently the mutual relation between the contracting parties was then at an end, and the firmāun boasted of can have no validity, in the situation of Indostān at that period, with respect to Bengal and its dependencies. . . The encroachments of the company's servants, which at a former period might have been beneficial under the pretended sanction of the firmāun became ruinous the very moment the company took the sovereignty of Bengal upon themselves. It was to the freedom of trade that Bengal owed its ancient prosperity: and it has been principally owing to the want of that freedom that the condition of the people in Bengal has been worse since the accession of the company to the Dewannee, than it was before.

It is true, that the goods which the company imported were all sold at the presidency of Calcutta, and these they bought in the interior country were all brought to Calcutta and exported. But in both cases they have constantly given their dustucks to the persons who bought their goods at Calcutta to transport and sell them duty free whenever they pleased; and to the persons from whom they bought their goods, to bring them in like manner from the places where they lay, or were provided.

Is not this to all intents and purposes carrying on an inland trade? Yet we have seen even East India directors affect to adopt this modern distinction of articles for inland trade, and articles for foreign exportation; and while they are acting as sovereigns of that country, they pretend to accommodate their regulations to the intention and spirit

spirit of the Mogul's firmaun; a nominal king of their own making.

The first principles of policy and commerce, must be invariably the same in all places, according to which every man has the right to buy and sell, what and where he pleases, paying all legal duties, and submitting to all lawful restrictions; and such is well known to have ever been the practice in Indostan

Although lord Clive had strongly recommended to the gentlemen of his select committee on the 16th of January 1767. The usual caution of acting under the cloak of the nabob, to which Mr. Verelst and the rest of the committee had resolved on the February following to adhere strictly, as this judicious system had met with the approbation of the directors; Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier directed afterwards under hands and seals in the most authoritative style pervanahs to the rajahs and zemindars of the country.

The Armenians trusting to the ancient treaties of friendship and alliance with the company, were precluded from the benefits of a free trade, and of late every avenue to justice has been shut against them in Bengal. During the government of lord Clive, their residence in Calcutta was misconstrued as taking refuge from the country government, tho' the law of this pretended government was then no other than the will of the noble president. They were rescued from the sheriff's custody, deprived of their right by charter, of appealing to the laws of England, and by military force banished from a British settlement, for having brought their own respective causes before an English court of justice.

T

Before

Before the regulations for the notorious monopoly of salt were made public at Calcutta, a secret partnership was formed between lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verelst and Mr. Sykes; for engrossing the salt then lying in the hands of private merchants. Before lord Clive quitted the government of Bengal, his share of these salt adventures, under the management of Mr. Verelst, and likewise his third part of another salt adventure; in partnership with general Carnac and Mr. Verelst were sold by his lordship for a valuable consideration to Henry Verelst, Francis Sykes and Alexander Campbell, each one fourth, and to Claud Ruffel and Thomas Kelfall each one eighth each.

Upon the departure of Mr. Sumner for England, Mr. Verelst had purchased with the rest of that gentleman's concerns his share in the salt adventures, so that the succeeding governor of Calcutta, and the most worthy resident at the Durbar, had become the principal proprietors in these salt concerns; which were carried on, among other places, at Nattour, by the agency of Mr. Tom Lewis, whose servants broke open the warehouses, and forcibly took away the salt of an eminent Armenian merchant, named Porbeck Arratoon, to the damage of 7,500l. sterling.

The court of directors had in a letter, dated February, 18th 1766, forbidden the general trade in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, as a prohibition of the monopoly established by lord Clive. He had himself, before he sailed for India, represented to the East India directors and proprietors, that one of the great causes of the untoward state of their affairs in Bengal, was the company's servants and others

others usurping from the natives the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco; and he therefore advised the prevention of it in future. This bait being readily swallowed, his lordship, with the select committee were directed to reform that abuse. What the directors meant to prevent was, the English trading in those articles duty free, in prejudice of the natives. But no sooner was lord Clive embarked for India, than he formed the plan of an universal monopoly in those articles, to the total exclusion of the natives; it was afterwards carried in execution by the committee, chiefly to their advantage, so early, that the directors might have been informed of this transaction long before they received that intelligence.

Lord Clive could carry no orders relative to this trade, but what were agreeable to freedom; and no regulations in favour of Europeans could be intended to the prejudice of the Asiatics, as it had been suggested by the noble president, that they were injured by the indulgence granted to Europeans; it is certain, that as soon as the directors heard of the establishment of that monopoly, they gave positive orders for its abolition, and in every subsequent letter repeated them. Had these worthies of Calcutta thought themselves really authorized to establish such a monopoly for their own benefit, they should have deemed it necessary to bind one another, by a penalty of 300,000*l.* to an association, in resisting any orders of the directors for putting an immediate end to the business.

This secret committee of reformers, with their associates, the declared enemies of all rapid acquisitions of wealth, commented their upright and dis-

inter-

interested administration in Bengal in May 1765. Such was their assiduity in accomplishing their secret views, that Mr. Sumner relinquished his pretensions of succeeding to the government, and returned to England in December 1766, lord Clive and general Carnac in January 1767, Mr. Sykes, the Durbar resident in November 1768, and Mr. Verelst, who succeeded lord Clive, and was not reputed worth six thousand pounds in 1760, resigned the chair on the 16th of December 1769, Mr. Alexander Campbell, one of the receivers, acquired a rapid fortune, by being made both assayer and mint master for the perfection of gold coinage; he was afterwards promoted to the important post of factor and member of the select committee, he returned to England as early as the beginning of the year 1768. The other gentlemen, who came from Madras to assist the reformers of Calcutta were no less active and successful in the acquisition of riches.

The deception misnood of Marshadabad, circumscribed and insignificant as it had been rendered, from the admirable intuition of lord Clive and Mr. Sykes, still afforded extensive prospects with a variety of objects that might stimulate the sordid knavery of such men as were stationed to support the illusion, the enormous fortunes which have been suddenly amassed there, fully demonstrate the great advantages which still surround the Misnood.

These lucky upstarts have experienced that "riches always procure protection for themselves, dazzle the eyes of enquiry, divert the celerity of pursuit, and oppress the ferocity of vengeance."

There is a passage in the third volume of Dow's history of Indostan, which is not improper here.

"The princes whom we raised in Bengal vanished imperceptibly from their thrones. Light and unsubstantial as the shew of power, with which as in derision we invested them, they disappeared like Romulus, but without a storm. The benefits derived from former revolutions, created a love of change; and the angel of death, if not our friend, was very opportune, in his frequent visits to the Misnud! In the course of five years, three nabobs expired; and the unfledged sovereign who succeeded to the nominal government of Bengal, in March 1770, has already enjoyed, considering the times, a long reign.

Nabobs to own the truth are useless; and they are dismissed to their fathers without a noise."

In order to throw an additional light on the monopolies established by lord Clive and his junto contrary to the intentions, and continued in defiance of the express orders of the directors, we shall transcribe a few extracts from the records of the house of commons, as they stand in the reports of the select committee, appointed to investigate the transactions of this society.

"Having thus stated the orders of the court of directors, your committee think proper to observe, that the salt society which afterwards took place, appears to have been originally proposed at sea by lord Clive, during his passage to India; and the evidence upon which your committee ground this fact, is a letter from lord Clive to the court of directors, dated the 1st of February 1766.

And

And it appears to your committee, from the evidence of several witnesses here following, that in the beginning of June, being a few days after the arrival of Mr. Verelst from Chittigong, and about the time of the third meeting of the select committee, a private partnership was formed in the names of lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verelst, and Mr. Sykes, for purchasing large quantities of salt, then in the hands of private merchants. Your committee are prevented stating the extent of this transaction so fully as they might otherwise have done by Mr. Verelst declining to answer a question put to him upon that subject; because, as he alleged, the court of directors had threatened him with a prosecution upon salt, &c.

Mr. Sumner being examined upon the subject of the above-mentioned partnership, informed your committee, that some time in the month of June, 1765, Mr. Verelst mentioned to him his having made some purchasers of old salt, upon his own account, and at the same time, proposed his taking a share therein, together with lord Clive and Mr. Sykes; which the witness agreed to. That each of them had a quarter part, and that Mr. Verelst undertook the management of the concern, and the keeping of the accompts: that the witness sold his quarter to Mr. Verelst about the middle of September, for a certain profit; that he had at this time advanced his whole share of the money required for the purchase, amounting to 12,500l. &c.

Your committee then examined Francis Sykes, Esquire, member of the house; who being asked,

whether

whether he remembered any partnership between himself, lord Clive, Mr. Sumner and Mr. Verelst. He said, that a quantity of salt was purchased by them, the time he could not recollect, but he believed it might be about two months after their arrival, that he said salt was bought of many black people, and many English gentlemen : Mr. John Johnstone, Mr. Hastings, attornies and others ; that they bought it on their private accounts, and that it was salt manufactured the year before their arrival. Being asked, why they dealt themselves in salt, before they had proceeded to regulate the trade ? he said, he did not know that they did, previous to their entering on the subject, or to the intention being publicly known. That this partnership in salt was not sold to the society, but to the country people ; that the gentlemen concerned were drawn upon for money agreeably to their shares ; that the witnesses proportion was about a lack of rupees ; that the advantages of the said partnership, to those who continued their concern, reckoning less of interest and balances, might be thirty per cent. He said, he did not recollect who made the proposal to lord Clive relating to his partnership, but that his lordship was not concerned in it from the beginning ; that it was begun by Mr. Verelst, that the witness afterwards accepted a concern, and that some time after lord Clive and Mr. Sumner did the same. And being asked, whether lord Clive entered into this partnership upon his own account, or for the benefit of other persons ? he said he remembered very well that at that time lord Clive took the concern, he declared he would not benefit himself six-pence by

by it; that he intended the profits which might arise from it, for Mr. Strachey, Mr. Maskeline, and Mr. Ingham the surgeon, the three gentlemen who had accompanied him to India.

So far the parties concerned established themselves the truth of this confederacy, but the point which they were unwilling to confess, was the deed of indemnity, whereby the noble president and his council engaged, under an immense penalty to keep up and enforce the continuance of the exclusive trade in salt, notwithstanding any orders of the court of directors to the contrary, and to save harmless, the committee of trade who were entrusted with the concerns of the society, from the consequences of such disobedience.

When Mr. Verelst was examined, he artfully represented this transaction to have been no secret, and that every particular was entered at large in the proceedings of the council transmitted to the directors; to support his bold assertions, he referred to the consultations of the 16th of September 1765, whereon is recorded a letter from the committee of trade, consisting only of four members, whereas the copartners, Messrs. Sumner and Verelst, made two, requesting a deed from the president and council at large, then consisting of themselves, with general Carnae, and the copartners Mr. Francis Sykes and lord Clive to secure to the proprietors, whom they had been pleased to enrol on their list, the exclusive trade in salt, according to the mode established by themselves.

On reference to those proceedings, in the reports of the house of commons, it will appear, that every material circumstance is therein cautiously suppressed,

pressed, while from the words ~~of the minute of~~ the said records, the reader is left with an impression that something was doing agreeable to the company's orders or intentions. Nevertheless, the secret committee of the house of commons, having enquired whether the said deed was transmitted to the court of directors, they found by the evidence of Mr. Michal the secretary, and Mr. Wilks, one of his deputies at the India house, that though an account was sent, it does not appear in the books and correspondence of the company, that the said deed was ever transmitted to the court of directors; whose orders, the parties were in fact, at that time solemnly engaging to set at defiance.

The farther evidence given on this subject from the report of the select committee of the house of commons was as follows :

" Your committee proceeded next to inquire into the nature of the deed, and into the transactions respecting the same. And your committee examined Mr. Richard Wittall, who being asked, if he knew any thing of a deed to engross the salt trade, and to indemnify the committee of trade? he said he was a sworn attorney of the mayor's court at Calcutta; that in October 1765, Mr. Verelst applied to him, and gave him instructions to prepare a deed of indemnity from the president and council of Bengal to the committee of trade; that he accordingly drew one up, on which upon being shewn to Mr. Verelst, he having made some alterations, approved of it; that the witness afterwards laid a fair copy of it before the governor and council for their approbation; that by direction of the board he made some farther alterations and ad-

titions in his own hands, and engrossed it, and delivered it to Mr. Lawrell, the secretary to the committee of trade ; that about ten days afterwards he waited on Mr. Lawrell, who desired him to fill up the penalty, and alter the date, which was the 11th of September, to some subsequent day, to make it consistent with the other deed from the society to the committee of trade ; the date of which had been altered before execution, from the 12th of August to the 18th of September ; and being asked, if he could speak with certainty as to any time posterior to which the deed referred to must have been executed, supposing it was even executed, he said, that in the beginning of November he rented another house, where he was very certain both the deed referred to were engrossed, and the seal which the deed from the society to the committee of trade was sealed with, he had from the owner of that house after he went into it ; that to the best of his remembrance, he delivered both deeds to the secretary about the middle of November : about ten days after he altered the date and filled up the blank for the penalty ; that he was therefore induced to believe it must be the end of November, or beginning of December, before either of them were executed ; and being asked, if he had ever seen either of them after they were executed ? he said, in September 1766, he waited on lord Clive, to receive instructions to prepare another deed ; when his lordship informed him, that he had been perusing those two deeds, and which were then laying before him on the table ; that his lordship observed to him, that there was not any valuable consideration expressed, and asked him, if he thought them valid ?

valid ? that he said, he could not ascertain how far they were valid in law, but that he had prepared them agreeable to the instructions he had received. And being asked, if he was sure the deed, if ever executed, must have been executed after the 15th of October ? he said, he was positive of it. And being asked with what sum the blank for the penalty was filled up ? he said, he believed 300,000*l.* and that lord Clive talked of those deeds to him as deeds executed. And being asked, whether he had any instructions, to keep this transaction secret ? he said, he had not, but that he never did mention it to any body but Mr. Banks, which was in the year 1769 ; that he did not mention it, because he thought it was a matter that should not be made public, from the nature of the transaction, it being an agreement to carry on a trade contrary to the orders of the company. And being asked, what were his motives for mentioning it to Mr. Banks, after keeping it secret for three years ? he said, that talking to Mr. Banks, whom he esteemed his friend, about a contract, he had made for the committee of trade, he mentioned it in common conversation. And being asked, when and on what occasion, he first mentioned the deed in England ? he said, that he mentioned it soon after his arrival, which was in November 1770, because he thought it ought to be made public, and that he was not bound in honour to keep it secret ; that he first spoke of it to Mr. Bolts, and in September 1771, was called before the court of directors to be examined about it.

Then Mr. Sumner being asked if he knew any thing of a deed entered into between the gover-

nor and council, and committee of trade, to insure the carrying on the salt society for one year? said; that such a deed was entered into; the express terms of the deed he 'did' not recollect; but he said, he considered it, as an engagement on the part of the proprietors, to pay to the company certain stipulated duties, and on the part of the governor and council, to secure to the proprietors the carrying on that trade for the space of one year, or to save and bear them harmless. Being asked, whether any mention was made of that deed by the governor and council upon record? he referred your committee to the consultations of September 16, 1765. And Mr. Sumner being asked, whether the deed, which, he had formerly said was executed, was drawn up by Mr. Whittall? he answered in the affirmative..

Some days after the above examination, Mr. Strachey a member of the committee, produced a paper, which he said he believed to be a copy of the deed of indemnity to protect the society of the salt trade. That he ordered a copy to be made, when he was in Bengal in 1766, or January 1767; that the paper is in the hand writing of Mr. Come, who was in his office at that time; and that the names of the contracting parties subscribed to it; and the indorsement, are in the hand writing of Mr. William Wynne, who was also an assistant in his office; and that he believed it to be the copy he so ordered to be made. And being asked, when he found that that copy was in his possession? he replied, a few weeks ago, but could not say exactly. And being asked if he could say, that the deed was executed before the 15th of October 1765? He said, he did not know when it was executed."

It appeared to the committee that a second deed of indemnity must have been entered into with the committee of trade but no such deed appeared before the committee, nor can they discover any traces of it in the records of the company. It is certain, that after lord Clive and his secret committee had received repeated orders from the directors, for the abolition of this salt monopoly, it was nevertheless kept up, continued and enforced, agreeably to the engagements in the respective lord's indemnity, and even after the faith of the Calcutta government had been repeatedly pledged to the natives, by public resolutions and advertisements, for abolishing the society, and encouraging them to embark again in the salt trade.

The noble lord and his select committee relinquished with great reluctance their favourite monopoly, and the hypocrisy which they practised, when no subterfuge was left them for evading the company's orders

They had in September 1765, acknowledged, that the interest of the nabob, with regard to salt, was no longer concerned, as the whole of the duties belonged to the company, who possessing territorial jurisdiction, and having become the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom, were not only the collectors, but the proprietors of the revenues, while the nabob's power was kept up only in appearance. In short, they had in the most express terms acknowledged, that they had transferred all the powers to themselves, and that there existed no other government in Bengal. Yet forgetful of what they had so lately written in the letter dated Calcutta January 24, 1767 Lord Clive, Mr. Verelst, general

general Carnac and Mr. Sykes set forth the evils that would accrue from restoring the former freedom of this trade, in the following words. "We are now directed totally to renounce all share in, and benefit arising from this trade; it must be made over to the natives; the government must of course come into possession; nor can it be carried on otherwise than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to ministers, officers, favourites, and dependants on the government, who will rear immense fortunes upon the oppression and ruin of the public, in despite of our utmost influence and endeavours.

The intervention of six months having obliterated the recollection of that unavoidable ruin and oppression which were denounced in this letter, the resident at the Durbar, in August, 1767, transmitted to the select committee the outlines of a plan for committing to the direction and management of the nabob's officers the sale of all the salt produced in Bengal. The profits which under the monopolizing committee had been divided into sixty shares, might have been thereby distributed among the ministers and officers of the government, "a scheme which appeared so iniquitous, that it was chiefly on that account rejected by the committee; who now gave it as their opinion, that justice required the privilege of making salt should be restored to those persons who formerly derived their subsistence from it, and who had no other means of providing for their families."

About the very same period of time, when the court of directors were framing their orders for restoring this trade to the natives, the noble projector

tor of the monopoly, anxiously solicitous to persuade them to relinquish their design, and confirm the trade to the select committee, as before; boldly represented to the court, "That the natives, having never enjoyed the advantages they proposed to give them, would be astonished at so unexpected and extraordinary an indulgence." Amoog other sophistical arguments, his lordship urged; that it would be a convenient means for rewarding the servants and shutting the door to the solicitations of noblemen to provide for the younger branches of their families; which he represented as a measure that might be apprehended, if rewards were bestowed from a commission granted either upon the company's investment or their revenues.

But the same noble lord, who had thus recommended a plan to exclude the sons of the nobility; was the first man who had dealt largely to himself a commission of one eighth per cent. upon these revenues, amounting to near thirty thousand pounds per annum:

The very attempt to justify the monopoly instituted by lord Clive and his committee, is an insult on common sense; nor can a better argument ever be offered in its support, than that which was given, with so great applause and success, by the noble monopolist, in his own justification before the commons of Great Britain, drawn from the abilities of the poor natives to pay the committee prices for their salt, from their abstinence, and parsimony in their food, apparel and edifices. His lordship's words were as follow:

"The lowest wages in Bengal are two rupees a month, which is twenty-four rupees or three pounds per

per annum. The poor men can scarcely be said to be at any other expence than for eating, they drink nothing but water; they wear no cloaths, their houses are built with mud or clay, thatched with straw. Now I leave the house to judge, whether the expence of from fifteen pence to two shillings and six-pence a year for twenty pounds of salt, even to those, the very poorest of the inhabitants, can be a grievance." Lord Clive's speech 30th of March; 1772.

It has been mentioned that in April 1765, lord Clive at Madrafs discovered the very flourishing condition of the company's affairs in Bengal. By his lordship's account, in November 1765, their revenue, exclusive of all expences, amounted to one million, seven hundred thousand pounds sterl. per annum and his lordship with Mr. Verelst and the rest of the secret committee, assured the directors in January 1766, that the happy prospect was daily opening to their view of security and opulence to the company; while money flowing into their treasury, contentment expressed by the country government, and peace diffusing its blessings, throughout every district of the nabob's dominions, were to them the most pleasing testimonies of the measures they had pursued.

Among the great benefits derived from their government, they advised the directors, in December 1766, of the great addition that had already been made to the current specie of the country, by their new gold coinage. And the committee were unanimously of opinion with his lordship, in January 1767, that the prosperity of the com-
pany's

any's affairs in Bengal was fixed upon a solid and permanent basis, that their revenues were increased beyond what they ever before produced, without oppressing the inhabitants, and that their interest might be furnished, expences civil and military paid, and a large quantity of bullion be annually sent to China, without importing a single dollar.

Yet the same year of lord Clive's departure, Mr. Verelst his successor and his committee, set forth in a large letter to the directors, the unoward symptoms of the decline of the trade and currency of the provinces, the fatal effects of which they began to experience in the most alarming degree.

The gold coinage, which in December 1766, was represented to have added so immensely to the current specie of the country, was suppressed in July 1768, being one of the principal causes of the bankruptcy among the merchants, &c.

The same year Mr Verelst and his committee further represented to the court of directors, that trade was stagnated, and the settlement in a state of bankruptcy, that the most reputable men in the service could with difficulty procure silver sufficient for the payment of their servants wages, and that they expected shortly to be obliged, to collect the revenues in the commodities produced in the country, without having a prospect of vending them at any rate, as the merchants would be totally deprived of the means to purchase them. They informed the president and select committee of Fort St. George, that Bengal was in the most declining condition, that the company's new acquisitions

A

had

had been placed in the most illusory light, and the situation was then so critical and precarious, that they had resolved to curtail the company's investment, which they afterwards reduced to sixty lakhs of rupées.

Mr Verelst acquainted the directors two years after lord Clive's reformation, that though they had then little reason for fears from abroad, yet the internal state of the provinces was a matter of real concern, and unless provided for by speedy and effectual measures, they must moulder into dust of themselves, without the intervention of any enemy. Yet this gentleman after his accession to the presidency of Bengal, had wrote to the directors that the company's affairs were in the most flourishing condition, "the state of which and the whole country was such as afforded the most pleasing assemblage of fortunate circumstances, and of prosperous events, than had occurred at any period"

At a consultation held the 16th of August 1769, the select committee were unanimously of opinion, that the then state of the revenue, public and private commerce, manufactures and agriculture, was such as gave room for the most serious apprehensions, and that the decline in each of these grand concerns had spread itself so as to produce a most alarming crisis in the company's affairs, and in a general letter from Bengal, of the same year, the directors were further informed, that, such was the stagnation of trade and general decay of credit, that the most opulent among the native merchants or inhabitants of the presidency, preferred locking their cash up in their chests, to the lending it at interest,

crest, even to the most respectable character amongst the company's servants.

Such were the blessed effects in Bengal of the boasted regulations of the noble reformer and his counsellors, for the government of a commercial empire. Such was the successful endeavours of this committee, alternately taking upon themselves the business of merchants, soldiers, inquisitors, judges, legislators, and executive magistrates during the tyrannical period of their administration.

Nor were the imputations of this committee, less injurious to the whole body of the company's servants civil and military; they had the injustice and frontery to accuse them of rapaciousness, corruption, venality, and of every species of vice and immorality; and they so far imposed on the directors, that in their letter of the 17th of May, 1766, that court were weak enough to write to the noble president, as follows:

"We have the strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced from the corruption and rapacity of our servants and the universal depravity of manners throughout the settlement; we agree entirely with your lordship, that the train of our affairs were then or would in a very few months have brought us to a most dangerous situation."

And yet such had been the rapid and astonishing effects upon the whole community, of the wholesome and seasonable condition of the noble reformer and his associates, who had first raised the clamour against them, that he pronounced first their panegyric in the British senate. After laying
all

all their faults upon their benyans in India ; the noble orator thus proceeds :

“ Hence, sir, arises the clamour against the English gentlemen in India. But look at them in a retired station, when returned to England, when they are no longer nabob’s and sovereigns of the East. See if there be any thing tyrannical in their disposition towards their inferiors ; see if they are not good and humane masters ; are they not charitable ? are they not benevolent ? are they not generous ? are they not hospitable ? if they are, this far, not contemptible members of society, and if in all their dealings between man and man their conduct is strictly honourable : if in short, there has not yet been one character found amongst them sufficiently flagitious for Mr. Foote to exhibit on the theatre in the Haymarket, may we not conclude, that if they have erred, it has been because they were men, placed in situations subject to little or no controul.”

From the pretended dissolute state of Calcutta attendant to lord Clive’s arrival, Mr. Verelst pretends to shew the necessity the select committee were under of reclaiming the junior civil servants from the debauchery in which they were immersed, by removing at a great distance the prospect of sudden acquired wealth, and also of lessening the incomes of subaltern military officers, for the preservation of order and discipline ; which good and necessary reforms that gentleman represents to have produced such an universal discontent in order, and mutinous spirit in the other, as threatened destruction to the English empire in Bengal.

In another part, the select committee described the immediate effects of these reformatations to have been in the highest degree, distressful, having endangered the morals of the junior civil servants, from the pressing scantiness of their monthly allowances, and reduced the subaltern officers so low, that there was scarce a possibility of their subsisting and maintaining the appearance of gentlemen, and rendered the officers who had resigned or been dismissed, the injured objects of distress and oppression.

As the committee have magnified in other places the advantages of their information, and assumed to themselves a great merit for their oeconomy in every department, we will collect together a few facts, and submit them in one point of view, to the reader's judgment.

The first object which offer themselves are the accounts current, laid before the board at Calcutta, by the presidents, lord Clive and Mr Verelst, on their respective resignation of the company's government, and on Mr Richard Smith's quitting the command of the army. These accounts were exhibited in such a mode, that if lord Clive's fortune had not been already made, and his reputation for disinterestedness established, they might have proved the truth of his lordship's remark, that every man who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.

By lord Clive's account, dated the 31st of December 1766, as it stands on the records of the company, it appears that the following charges were necessarily and unavoidably incurred on their account, viz.

1765, May 3d.

For the expences of his lordship's
voyage from England, until his
arrival at Calcutta, exclusive
of 3000l. paid for this purpose
by the directors current ru-
pees

73,489 14 4

1766, December 31st.

For fundry expences under the
head of charges general, from
his lordship's arrival in Calcut-
ta to this day

99,629 12 1

For his lordship's table expences
from ditto to ditto

97,642 1 8

For his lordship's expences in
cloaths and linen, from ditto
to ditto

16,987 4 7

For wages to secretaries, assist-
ants and stewards from ditto to
ditto

19,722 11 4

For charges of feeding five ele-
phants

941 14 0

For certain losses on the remit-
tance of his lordship's jagueer.

8,375 4 1

For plate given to the Dutch go-
vernors at the Cape of Good
Hope and at Chinsurch

2,177 9 6

For the fortune with which his
lordship was pleased to reward
his faithful servant Edward
Philpot, Esq.

14,928 15 8

Current Rupees 333,895 7 2
Making

Making at the exchange of two shillings and three pence per current rupee, pounds sterl ^r	37,563	5	3
Ditto for the following articles exhibited in his lordship's further account laid before the house of commons in March 1772, viz.			
For fundry charges of salaries, table expences and wearing apparel — —	2,795	14	6
For fundry other expences paid in England — —	1,846	5	7
For other fortunes given to the following gentlemen			
To Henry Strachey, Esq. —	15,942	16	11
Edmund Maskelyne, Esq. —	13,049	19	9
Samuel Iogham, Esq. —	9,161	19	10
Edward Philpot, Esq. —	2,196	15	1
Messrs Wynne, Archdekin, Cowe and Ducarel — —	3,402	0	0
	<u>43,753</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
	£ 85,958	16	10

The total amount of lord Clive's charges being eighty-five thousand, nine hundred and fifty eight pounds, sixteen shillings and ten pence, which is said to have exceeded all the emoluments reaped by his lordship from the salt trade, commission on the revenues, presents and perquisites whatever, during his short excursion to India, in the sum of 5,816l 16s 9d.

By Mr. Verell's account, which he has in imitation of his noble predecessor recorded in the same manner on the company's books, dated the 31st of October 1769, it appears his house expences, servants wages, &c. from January 1767, to October 1769, amount to current rupees 424,554, which at two shillings and three pence per current rupee, make sterling 47,762l. 6s. 6d.

By colonel Smith's account, dated November the 9th 1769, it appears he gave away in presents, which he graciously bestowed on the Great Mogul, and on other princes and grandees of Hindostan, with whom he had long and intimate connexions, sunnut rupees

124,606 0 0

And the colonel's table expences from the first of August 1766, to the first of August 1769, are set down at

187,200 0 0

Making at 1s. 3d. per current rupee, — sterling

38,936 15 3

The next proofs of oeconomy we will select from the revenue department, among which the first are the charges standing on the company's books under the extraordinary titles of charges of convivial entertainments and masquerade dresses for English gentlemen: and also under the head of rustum or custom.

The charges under these disguised titles stand as follow, April 1766.

The head of entertainments, sicca rupees ————— 45,373 2 5

April 1767.

Under the head of dresses for lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, general Carnac, Mr. Harry Verelst, Mr. Francis Sykes, Mr. Randolph Marriott, Mr. Hugh Watts, Mr. Claud Ruffel, Mr. William Aldersey, Mr. Thomas Kelsall, Mr. Charles Ffloyer, a gentleman unknown, Mr. Edward Maskeline, Mr. Alexander Campbell, Mr. Samuel Ingham, Mr. Henry Strachey and others ————— 46,750 0 0

April 1768.

Head dresses, for Mr. Harry Verelst, Mr. John Carnac, colonel Richard Smith, Mr. Francis Sykes, Mr. Richard Bechan, Mr. James Alexander, Mr. Claud Ruffel, Mr. William Aldersey, Mr. Charles Ffloyer, Mr. Alexander Campbell, Mr. Coart, &c ————— 79,681 4 9

Ruffum, or custom for Mr. Sykes's table ————— 24,000 0 0

For chairmen and porters for carry-

brought forward 24,000 0 0

ing Mr. Verelst,
colonel Smith,
Mr. Knott and o-
ther gentlemen
with their neces-
saries backwards
and forwards

35,915 0 0

April 1769.

59,915 0

The head dresses for Mr. Harry
Verelst, Mr. John Cartier, co-
lonel Richard Smith, Mr.
Richard Becher, Mr. Francis
Sykes, Mr. James Alexander,
Mr. Claud Ruffel, Mr. Tho-
mas Rumbold, Mr. William
Aldersey, Mr. Thomas Kel-
fall, Mr. Charles Ffloyer and
others — —

78,535 4

Ruffum, for Mr.

Sykes's table 24,000 0 0

For charges of bear-
ers or chairmen,
to carry fundry
English gentle-
men backwards
and forwards, and
for postmen stati-
oned to carry fruits
to Calcutta —

64,472 13 0

88,472 13

April 1770.

The head of dresses for Mr. Harry
Verelst, Mr. John Cartier, co-

Colonel Richard Smith, Mr.
 Richard Becher, Mr. James
 Alexander, Mr. Claud Ruffel,
 Mr. Thomas Rumbold, Mr.
 William Alderfey, Mr. Tho-
 mas Kelfall, Mr. Charles
 Esloyer, Mr. Robert Maddef-
 ton and others —

84,657 12 0

Ruffum for Mr. Be-
 cher's table 24,000 0 0

99½ For chairmen carry-
 ing sundry English
 gentlemen back-
 wards and for-
 wards

28,709 15 0

52,709 15 0

Total current rupees at two shil-
 lings and three pence sterl. £. 69,543 15 3

The few articles already before us, exhibited at
 one view appears as follow :

1 66 Dec. To amount of the bills made

by lord Clive £. 85,958 16 10

1769 Oct. to ditto, by Mr. Verelst 47,762 6 6

Nov to ditto, by Colonel Smith 38,936 15 3

April 1770 ditto, by the Durbar,
 president and members of the
 select committee, &c for char-
 ges of Asiatic dresses, enter-
 tainments and travelling ex-
 cursions for themselves and
 friends —

69,543 15 0

£. 242,201 13 7

This

This sort of exclusive communication, was ever found by the company's governors in India, to be the grand source of their private emoluments; and however necessary or expedient the company's standing order on this point might at first appear, yet there was never sufficient checks established in a business of such moment to their own prosperity, and to the welfare of the natives of India.

The transactions of the company's ruling servants, from the first period of their interfering with the politics of India, have at all times afforded sufficient experience of the necessity of such checks. The abuse of this exclusive privilege of communication with the nabob and his officers, was what principally provoked the resentment of Sujah al Dowlah, which in June 1766, brought on the loss of Calcutta. At this time, Mr. William Watts, the company's chief at Cossimbuzar, was their political negociator at the Durbar at Marshadabad, where, under the auspices of colonel Clive, he conducted that conspiracy, which in 1757, terminated in the expulsion of the nabob, and the acquisition of the colonel's jaghire. His lordship informed the house of commons, that Mr. Watts employed two or three months in the negociation of that revolution; and that the correspondence was carried on entirely between himself and Mr. Watts, and also there never was a crisis in which it was so requisite for the company to be acquainted with the proceedings of their ruling servants; it appears by the same evidence, that the intercourse which had been so carried on in cyphers, between the president and the resident at the Durbar, it was not entered in the country correspondence, or any where else."

By this suppression the company were left entirely in the dark, with respect to more than a whole year's transactions of the greatest moment; but that is more extraordinary, such papers as Lord Clive did possess, he did not think himself under an obligation to produce, as not relating to the commercial affairs of his constituents, whose dependance, according to his lordship's ideas, at the time which these papers related to, was transferred from the Indian government to a dependance upon himself.

When the patent of the jaghire was put into Lord Clive's hands by Juggat Seat, in the presence of Mr Sykes, Mr Scrafton, and major Carnac, his lordship said, " I confess it gave me the greatest pleasure to find it to be the lordship of the company's laws, because the company was thereby freed from all dependance on the government."

The court of directors in their letter of the 24th of December 1765, complained to their noble president and council, of gross suppressions in the country correspondence, and that the copies thereof which was sent home, were evidently unfaithful registers.

The intelligent reader will readily conceive the real cause of that jealousy which the company's governors have ever shewn at any person's corresponding with the officers of the country government, except through themselves; although the objections ostensibly urged against such correspondence have been, that it was contrary to the standing order of the company, a degradation of the president's dignity, or an interference with his official department,

The noble president, who in the transactions of his own, had seen and experienced the good effects of this exclusive communication, was blessed with a committee, who were the first to give examples to their fellow-servants of that unanimity, self-denial, and disinterestedness, which his lordship deemed essential to the welfare of the service. Within less than a month after their arrival at Calcutta, they resolved that all intercourse with the nabob, his ministers, and the country powers, should be conducted by the noble president.

When all communication was thus concentrated in the governors and commanders in chief of the company's armies, they found it an easy task at all times to cause a revolution, to secure the commercial intercourse of the company, as a jaghire to free them from dependance on the country government, while by the stroke of a pen, a loan could be changed into a donation or legacy, which might be converted into a fund for the maintenance of invalid or superannuated officers, and their widows -

It is impossible to justify revolutions, achieved by the servants of a trading community, unintrusted by their employers; whilst they lived under the protection of an Indian government, they did openly violate the peace stipulated with it, they entered into intrigues to promote treachery and disaffection among the chief officers of the princes of Indostan; and effected by force and treachery all the infamous transactions mentioned before.

Mr Bolt asserts with equal boldness and veracity, that the plains of Plassey, on the 23d of June 1757, exhibited a scene of treachery and rebellious rout,
and

and not of a contested and glorious victory, that could of itself be made the illustrious foundation of an Irish barony; in whatever light it might have been represented, to impose on the sovereign and the nation, happy it was for the company that the defeated nabob's numerous army made so little resistance; that according to Mr Scrafton, there were only seventy men killed and wounded.

All the company's servants know that SHAW ALLUM, the impoverished, abused, and deluded Mogul emperor, was placed on the misnomer to confirm Lord Clive's jaghire; colonel Dow described his situation as follows: "He keeps the poor resemblance of a court at Allahabad, where a few omrahs in hopes of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his service, still exist the ragged pensioners of his poverty, and burden his gratitude with their presence."

The political manoeuvres of the company's ruling servants with the great Mogul, and the nabobs of Bengal, need no commentaries. Every body is now acquainted with the reasons of the progress of East-India stock from the year 1765 to 1769, in consequence of the very exaggerated and imposing accounts transmitted from India, and the purchases of that stock made by Lord Clive. Thus were the proprietors deluded in voting an additional ten years grant of the jaghire for that noble lord.

If we consider the operation of the salt monopoly; the sudden fortunes obtained by the select committee gentlemen, and the acquisitions made by all his lordship's other friends, dependents and creatures, under the nominal princes of Bengal, together

ther with the powerful effects and secret advantages attainable by wealth from seats and suffrages in public assemblies, we may easily perceive how far the secrecy of emoluments, or pecuniary gratifications, were removed by the grant of the revenue to the English East India company, and he will not be at a loss to discover the private advantages of the Dewannee system, "called in derision, the double government."

At a select consultation held the 19th of February 1766, upon a complaint from their tool the deputy nabob, Mahomed Raza Khawn, of the oppressions practised by Gomastahs in general, the committee made the regulation, already mentioned, for all Gomastahs already employed in the inland trade, to be furnished with perwannahs by the president, in which were to be specified the places of their residence, the business they were to be employed upon, and the time requisite for each purpose, without which no man was to be permitted to buy or sell. At the same committee they were likewise pleased to make a merchant of Mahomed Raza Khawn, to whom they intrusted the purchase of all timber and chunam produced in a whole province. In June 1766, for the further benefit of trade and circulation, they adopted the plan of a new and over rated gold coinage, which altered the state of the currency throughout the whole country, effectually drained it of its remaining silver specie, and terminated in a great loss to the company: and at a subsequent meeting, they threw into the hand of their minister the whole opium trade of the province of Bahar.

The

The noble president pleaded before the house of commons, in justification of his having adopted his plan, " That as the gold coinage was a subject very much out of his sphere, that he was totally unacquainted with the proportions of alloy, and the mixture of metals : and that he did not receive a farthing advantage from it. An honourable member present opposed to the apology of his lordship, the comparative case of a quack doctor, who had opened a principal artery, and of the death of his patient, endeavoured to justify himself upon his ignorance of anatomy."

In order to make a shew of their great regard for the poor industrious natives, at another committee held the 15th of August, upon private information taken from one Cassinaut, in a summary way, peculiar to themselves, they collected from a number of merchants, who were accused of selling salt at prices exceeding the rates established by the committee, no less a sum than 41,535 rupees; but they kept it for such good and charitable purposes as the governor and council should direct.

At their meeting of the 10th of September, 1766, when they resolved upon calling all company's servants and other Europeans from the inland country and the subordinate factories, it was pretended to be only meant for securing the necessary authority to the government and protection to individuals. But they excepted from this order such persons as they were pleased, upon the same pretences, while, out of regard to their own agents, particularly those employed in the salt business; at a committee of the 7th October 1766, they cancelled certain penalty bonds, which two of those

agents had given for their good behaviour, and were also graciously pleased to indulge those gentlemen with the privilege of trading duty free.

Such was the facility in the operations of arithmetic and the indulgence in the auditors of accounts, the happy effect of that unanimity at the public boards, which had been so frequently and deservedly commended by lord Clive, Mr. Verelst, and the rest of the select committee at Calcutta. Not only the charges of these extraordinary accounts were passed without the necessary vouchers, but his lordship and Mr. Verelst were suffered, equally uncontrouled to fix their own value upon the pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds which they were pleased to insert in those accounts as received in presents.

As to colonel Smith's account, it had been always the practice of the Indian princes to return to the English sudars or commanders three times the value of what they received in complimentary presents ; but from the respective accounts of governor Verelst and the general, it seems that their notions of supporting the company's dignity were diametrically opposite, for while the parsimonious governor appears to have conferred nothing upon the country princes, the general appears to have been above receiving any thing from them on the company's account.

The convivial entertainments mentioned before, call to our minds the condition of the subjugated Asiatic provinces, under the degenerated Romans, during the luxurious and corrupt stages of that empire. We read in Plutarch's life of Mark Anthony, "That he gave his cook the house of a magnan-

an citizen, for dressing his supper according to his taste

The reports before the house of commons afford many other proofs of the same species of economy in the Bengal government after they took the Dewannee from the year 1765 to 1770, during which period we have many instances of considerable sums being alienated from the company's estate or revenues, and given without due authority, to the dependents of gentlemen of power and influence. Of this kind appears even many considerable jagueers, granted to a variety of people from the nominal nabob's deputy, Mahomet Raza Khawn, down even to colonel Smith's benyan. Fifty villages were granted to him in the name of Roy Kelloran. Of this sort appears also the pension of eighteen thousand rupees per annum, collected in the Bahar provinces, by the single appointment of lord Clive, for Almad Yar Khawn Laity, concerning which, when Mr Verelst's succession, and the select committee inquired of the supervisor of that province, on what part a separate collection was made for that sum, and that Mr Alexander could learn was, that Laity was a man of distinction, whose house and family had been plundered, by the nabob Jaffer Ali Khawn, Mr Alexander had been summoned, for it was another Laity whom Jaffer Ali plundered. And of this kind also appears the remission of duties upon a large quantity of salt, to the amount of 47,769 rupees, to be sent to Ghisaul, without any reason being assigned for it. Instead of 30 lakhs per annum, he paid only 9 lakhs.

While measures similar to these were transacted in every part of the provinces, under the country government, it was not extraordinary that the court of directors should soon experience that the Dawanee collectors scarce answered any other purpose than defraying the civil and military charges of their presidency of Bengal. But this sort of business being for a long while under the management of the president and members of the secret committee, and the directors being necessarily unacquainted with the disguised or real names and connections of the persons mentioned in the records which the committee was pleased to transmit from India, that court have been frequently as destitute of materials wherewith to trace a fact, or check deceptions of this sort, as if no accounts had been sent them. For example, when they saw transactions of such a nature upon their books, how could they divine that the before-mentioned Laitly was the brother of the late Khode Laitly, who was Meer Jaffer's competitor for the musnud, upon the expulsion of the nabob, Sujah 'al Doulah. This is the man mentioned by Mr. Watts, as a considerable person, who had offered himself as nabob, but who was rejected by colonel Clive in favour of Meer Jaffer, "As his abilities greater, his reputation better, and his connections more extensive than those of Laitly." How could the court of directors conjecture that Glosaul was a child, and the son of Mr Verelst's banyan? Or how could they guess that Roy Kelloram was banyan to colonel Smith.

The public visits, embassies, or deputations to and from the princes and ministers of the country

tally with this useless and unwarranted profusion while Bengal was governed by this committee of informers, the most notorious transaction of this kind, was the excursion of Mr. Cartier, colonel Smith, and Mr. Cloud Russel, in November 1763, to the court of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah; it was pretended for the purposes of this embassy, that this prince was meditating hostilities against the English; and these memoirs were corroborated principally by colonel Smith's letters to the presidency, were at length made the basis of a new treaty, by which that nabob was restricted to a number of forces which he never had on foot. At a time when the president and select committee were constantly complaining to the directors of the low state of the company's finances, near four lacks of rupees were dissipated upon this deputation, as presents necessary for supporting the honour of the company; whose dignity was again on this occasion, so punctiliously considered, that no returns were received by the deputies on the company's account. The court of directors have of late seen through this farce.

If the proofs already produced be not deemed sufficient in the opinion of any impartial reader, to set in a true light, the demerits of the committee, or the points of abuse of authority in their public stations, iniquitous deceptions and concealments, and profusion of the public money, let him peruse the 4th report of the secret committee of the house of commons, on the subject of the celebrated Malcot, he will see there a tax established, that was unlimited in its extents, because the consciences of the collectors were the only measures of its necessity;

cessity, and equitable in its operations, because their own accounts were the only checks upon the collectors; he will there see large sums acknowledged to have been collected by a mode, destructive of the manufactories and agriculture of the country, and productive of such scenes of iniquity, oppression, and peculation, as are far beyond description; while the harmless subjected inhabitants, deprived of the protection of their native princes, have had no other resource left them, but to heaven for justice; and he will likewise then discover, that this wicked mode of collection was originally established by lord Clive and the select committee.

But the Malcoat collection was continued, and increased to an amazing extent after his lordship's departure; and from the sums thereby levied upon the poor natives, was discharged the debts which had been contracted at the Durbar for the charge of the dresses and entertainment of English gentlemen, under the heads already noticed; while the accounts of those extraordinary charges were audaciously concealed from the knowledge of the company; arising, as the president apprehended from the fear the gentlemen of the select committee had, that the company would not permit such an expence to be kept up, notwithstanding it was deemed so necessary in the eyes of the country people, and always held in the utmost veneration.

It would be an endless task to follow the noble president and his select committee of Calcutta through the labyrinths of contradiction, inconsistency and wilful deception, which they practised to obtain unmerited honours and emoluments to themselves.

selves, while they imposed upon fluctuating and ignorant courts of directors, to the injury of the East India proprietors and the public, and to the dishonour and prejudice of their fellow servants.

The reader has seen some of the many righteous means by which Bengal was governed under their administration, and the operative effects of that government have been shewn, by the testimony on record, of those most concerned in it, to have been no other than the sudden reduction of a whole nation from a high pitch of affluence and prosperity to the lowest degree of misery. Where then will be the sensations of benevolent minds, when upon the same records, they see those effects described to have been produced by counsels and regulations founded on the most consummate wisdom and justice? yet such were the representations which in the midst of the distresses of their ruined country, the poor tools of nabob's were forced to give, while "The mouths of every body were full of the praises of the noble governor and gentlemen of the council for their judicious and upright management of the affairs of the empire, and their regard for the welfare of it's inhabitants"

In the direction of all the matters concerning the political interests of the company, the correspondence of late years, with the princes of India, has been confined solely to the presidents or select committees, to whom the court of directors have at different times, thought proper to intrust the conduct of their system. On this principle, by a fixed regulation for practice, called a standing order, in the company's service, such correspondence has been usually carried on through the channel
of

of the governor only, with directions for him to lay the copies thereof before the board, and that he has generally performed in such manner and at such times, as he deemed necessary and convenient. Upon this system it is plain, that the Asiatic provinces must naturally look up to the governor, as the sole administrator of all justice, protection, and power under the company; contrary to every principle of the British government. And the governor being under little or no controul, in this business, the board at Calcutta, or the directors in England, have never had any stronger check, than his integrity for their security in obtaining any knowledge of the state of the negotiations with the country powers, on which their all depended.

On the 22d of October this enlightened committee also made a regulation to confine the trade of all Europeans to certain articles, they composed a most ridiculous list under the denomination of exports from the presidency and factories; and all trade from one part to another of those extensive territories was absolutely prohibited, on pain of confiscation of the goods to be appropriated at the pleasure of the committee. A few days afterwards, they likewise committed the superintendence of this business to their tool Mahomed Raza Khawn, who was directed to cause all pervannas to be immediately registered, and without delay, to send down to Calcutta, all such persons as could not produce a proper authority for their trade and residence in their provinces, while a number of military guards were stationed at divers places called chockeys, for the collection of duties. And further, on their own subjection that the country would

could not produce so much raw silk as the company had required for Europe, while private merchants were permitted to deal in that article. At a committee held the 27th of December 1766, they were also pleased to restrain or prohibit all trade in that commodity also.

Upon the inland or circular traffic of the Bengal provinces, wholly depended the prosperity of their external commerce, and the annual liquidation of a large balance in their favour, from the adjacent and other distant countries, whose merchants were used yearly to resort to their frontiers; and whatever merchants carried on this circular trade, must have been quite immaterial so long as they peaceably conformed to the laws of the country and paid the established duties.

Yet without any distinction made in these points the wisdom of the Calcutta legislators, discovered in general, that the circular traffic of Bengal was particularly pernicious. The inland trade carried on by the French, they likewise deemed an encroachment; and as, it expressly for the purpose of preventing the reflux of wealth from the interior parts of Indostan, they gave directions to their collector at Patna, for stopping all trading boats that should attempt to pass the frontiers of Bahar.

To crown the whole of such proceedings; at a select committee held the 29th of December 1767; they formed a set of regulations for conducting the inland trade of the country, which their resident at the Durbar was directed to enforce, as usual, under the pretended authority of the nabob, without making the company appear as principals,

merely to prevent the trade of the other European nations.

The stationing of soldiers at Chockeys, for the collection of duties, afforded the most favourable opportunities for the practice of every species of fraud and imposition by the Chokeyders and others, who availed themselves of their uncontrouled military authority, to detain the goods of the merchants, and to extort what ever sum they pleased for their releasement. Such was the effect of the practices consequent of this wise establishment of military guards for the purposes of commerce and revenue; they naturally contributed to render every part of the fruitful provinces of Punea, a waste and habitation of wild beasts.

The fatal effects of all those impolitic and mischievous regulations were also soon very sensibly felt by the company in England, insomuch, that from the most accurate accounts drawn up by order of the directors, it appeared, that on the cargoes of 30 ships brought from Bengal, during the five years subsequent to the assumption of the dewannee, the prime cost of which was 3,037,266l. the company had only gained 680,502l. whereas they had gained 930,700l. upon the investments of only 1,642,180l. that had been imported in 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ ships during the five preceding years.

So that notwithstanding the high encomiums the which the noble president and select committee had passed on their virtues and abilities, and particularly on their great attention to the company's interest in the vast increase of their investment, the court of directors were forced to complain that their ships were returned from Bengal with such depri-

depreciated fabrics, that some of them scarce produced their original cost. They have been ever since losing upon the whole of their calico-investment from that precedency.

Regulations were constantly penned with the greatest appearance of disinterestedness, and regard to the welfare of the community, one should think from the specious glosses with which they were displayed, that the poor natives of Bengal had been of late years the happiest people upon earth, but there were no effective courts appointed to enforce the execution, or punish the transgressions of such regulations; both which were also reserved to the discretion or caprice of the president and select committee. The progress of these regulations in Calcutta had been no other than their secretary's causing notices on papers, to be pasted up at the doors of the council house, the major's court, and the fort, containing copies of the resolutions of the board, and sometimes imperfect translations of them, made by their banyans, into the Bengal language, seldom intelligible to the natives; which after the first rain or wind had dispersed or defaced them, was thought no more of. The same was the progress of these regulations in the interior provinces, where they were transmitted to their resident at the Durbar, and to the Indian collectors, who acted under their inspection at the subordinate factories; while the governing servants of the company, who enacted as well as those who were to enforce or superintend execution of such laws, were constantly the first and most interested in breaking them. The decline of the interior traffic of Bengal must be dated from the first period of the
the

the company's directors and governing servants interfering in the regulations thereof, which were equally contrary to the laws and customs of Indostan, as to those of Great Britain; they were also as repugnant to reason, as tyrannical.

All these pernicious measures induced the court of East India directors by their orders to the intended supervisors, to restore the trade in salt to the former footing, by opening it to all persons, as well as natives as Europeans. At length, their eyes were so well opened, that they abolished disticks, and gave such orders as have in a great measure revived the drooping manufactories, and retrieved the lost branches of the frontier traffic of the Bengal provinces; but the same letters, which contained their orders for the freedom of trade, and the protection of the natives, conveyed such other powers to their president and council, as must naturally have rendered those orders wholly ineffectual, as long as the directors empower their ruling servants in India, to seize, imprison, and send forcibly to England, British subjects; trade will be at a low ebb in Bengal, and these provinces will be brought nearer and nearer to their destruction, if effectual methods are not speedily taken, to prevent such violences, to enable the injured more easily to obtain relief, and to reflect exemplary punishments on such oppressors.

Although British subjects allured by hopes of wealth, now tamely emigrate to India, bound by covenants to slavish acquiescence under the vile acts of tyranny; and although such usurped powers have not yet been cancelled by parliamentary authority; yet these iniquitous practices, are not
only

ly repugnant to the personal rights of men, the unity of service, the security of credit and private property, but likewise to the true interest of the company, the welfare of the subjugated provinces and the good of this kingdom.

The ruinous situation to which the Bengal provinces were reduced from the year 1765 to 1770, as owing to the persons intrusted with the government, being placed in situations under little controul; or such, in fact, as freed them from every restraint, and enabled them to set themselves above all law whatever, contrary to every principle of the British constitution. Perhaps, wherever there are evils under which the governed labours, they may be generally deduced from a similar cause in every community; but if the governors in Bengal were under little controul before, the legislature hath since placed them under much less.

By the late act of parliament, of the 13th George III. the governor or general, the council, and the judges of the supreme court of judicature, established in Bengal, are indeed restrained from trading or receiving presents; and the same sort of restraint is laid upon all persons employed in the collections of the revenues or the administration of justice; their agents or servants; there are also among others, several wise and excellent provisions therein made for the trying of all matters in the supreme court of judicature, by juries of British residents, for the rendering of written evidence, taken in Bengal, in certain cases of equal validity with *viva voce* evidence in England, and for the trying in his majesty's court of king's bench, misdemeanors, as may be committed in India by the
said

said governor and council general; the chief justice or the judges of the said supreme court in Bengal or by any persons employed in a civil or military situation or capacity there, or in any other part of India.

But at the same time that these salutary regulations are made, the said governor general, the council and the judges making together nine men, whom all the powers of legislation and executive government are delegated, are freed from such dictumens, informations, arrests, or imprisonments as their fellow subjects are liable to in Asia; which by the legislation hath effectually confirmed the doctrine of Lord Clive's administration, that "Commissions committed by the president and council were not cognizable by any civil authority in India." It hath been shewn, that the noble lord Clive was the first governor who ever presumed to restrain a man lawfully resident under the sanction of British laws in Bengal, from trading; and he and his select committee were the first who systematically adopted the ruinous and iniquitous practice of sudden seizures, imprisonments, and transportations; and it is remarkable, that by this act, the governor and council also are intrusted with the powers of withholding licences for trade, or residence in India, or for sending men forcibly to England, within twelve months; as considering the situations of the British residents in that part of the world, are equivalent to the power of ruining a man at will; and such, as if sanctified by the operation of the four judges, might effectually secure them under any breach of the law, and protect them in any act of tyranny or rapine. In this situation, the lands, the persons, and the property

ties of the millions of industrious inhabitants in the Bengal provinces, as well as the neighbouring princes are by the British laws left to the mercy of nine men, who if they should prove as unanimous and successful in their operations, as the last select committee of Bengal, might renew the same devastation, with like emoluments and equal impunity to themselves.

With respect also to the regulations on this act which relate to commerce, had they been dictated by the late noble president and the members of his committee, they could not have been better calculated to screen their own oppressions and blunders. The distress under which the commerce of Bengal has long laboured, has been proved to have been principally occasioned by the fetters and restrictions which had been imposed on its inland trade, yet by this act of parliament, that trade has been cramped by regulations as impolitic as those under which it before laboured.

By one clause, British subjects are absolutely prohibited from trading in salt, beerle nut, tobacco, or rice, except for or on account of the company, although they never traded in those articles in Bengal, the monopoly of which must inevitably prove more destructive to the country than any trade of individuals in these articles.

By the same clause likewise, subjects under a certain description are prohibited from purchasing any goods or commodities by way of traffic, within the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, to sell the same again within the said provinces; nevertheless, it is provided in the subsequent clause, that all persons, not otherwise prohibited by the act may car-

ty on trade within Fort William and the town Calcutta.

In the next clause it is provided, that such persons as are restrained by the act from carrying any trade shall not be thereby prohibited from collecting in their outstanding debts, or from selling disposing of the merchandizes and stock in trade which they may be possessed at the time when the prohibitions therein specified, shall respectively take place. But they are required to deliver into the governor and council general, a full, true, and just specification upon oath, of all the goods, wares, effects, and stock in trade, then in their possession, which they are obliged to dispose of within the space of six months, although such may be the situation of the persons, and the nature of their trade, that three or more years may be insufficient for the performance of the task imposed on them.

By another clause of the act, the persons there described are restrained from trading, after the covenants or agreements with the company, for residing or trading in India, shall be expired, without a new licence; under this restriction are included even free mariners, a class of men who have usually gone out under no other limitation for residing or trading in India for life, than that of giving security not to become chargeable to the company; under which sole condition, most of the gentlemen went out, who are now in India of that denomination.

The practice of seizing and transporting British subjects, is still so far encouraged by this act, must not only greatly impede the re-establishment of all commercial confidence and credit between the natives

natives and Europeans, but may likewise be productive of such evils and injuries to many British subjects as may provoke them to the worst acts of desperation ; even such as in the end, may prove fatal to the interest of the company and this country in India, since they will affect men in a military as well as civil capacity.

During the parliamentary deliberations on the Act, George Johnstone, Esq; member of the house of commons, who has ever shewn himself equally strenuous in his endeavours for succouring the oppressed individuals, and supporting the common rights of mankind, presented to that honourable assembly and moved for the insertion of a clause, enacting " that all kinds of Moguls, Armenians, and other merchants, natives of Asia, should be allowed in all times past, to carry on their trade, in any goods or merchandize whatsoever, without molestation, into and from Calcutta, Madras, Surat, Bombay, Bencoolen, and all other ports or places within the limits of the company's charter, on paying the legal duties and customs established at the respective places where such trade might be carried on." Nevertheless this just and provident clause was rejected, contrary to the interest of these provinces of the company, and of this kingdom ; and against every principle of sound policy : for the prosperity of all trading or manufacturing countries must ever depend on the freedom of traffic.

Posterity will hardly believe that in so enlightened an age, the legislature of the greatest commercial nation on earth has been seriously enacting laws calculated to frame fetters for their country-

men, with which they could not bind foreigners in India. This act is subversive of all these immutable principles, which must be ever adhered to by all nations who seek prosperity or advantage from trade and commerce. It is allowable in every part by the agency, and intervention of banyans and merchants, while the double government, strongly favours such elusion.

The wisdom of modern times, chiefly consists in the adopting of remedies for present evils, or escape from impending dangers, rather than the keeping them off as a solid course of wisdom, and it is the solecism of great power to think of commanding the end,¹ without seeking the means.

It has been sufficiently proved that Lord Clive and his committee was nothing in fact but a confederacy, who assumed to themselves the sovereign domination in Bengal. That their measures were as lenitive to themselves as injurious to their employers; that whole nations of innocent, submissive and industrious Indians have been therefore destroyed in a murderous way, plundered by illegal imposts and exactions, derived of their native princes, depopulated and ruined.

The following copy of the memorial of George Johnson and George Dempster, Esqrs; to the Court of the East India directors, remonstrating against their appointment of a select committee, with extraordinary powers for the government of Bengal, dated the 30th of May 1764, prove it: the gentlemen's foresight and sagacity.

At a court of directors a resolution had been agreed to by a very small majority in the following words: "that in order to restore peace and tranquillity

ality in Bengal, full power be given to lord Clive, Mr Sumner, brigadier general Carnac, Mr Verelst, and Mr Sykes, to pursue whatever means they judge most proper to attain the same."

It appeared to the memorialists, that the said resolution was destructive of the constitution of the East India company, which in every circumstance is endeavoured to provide, by the number of persons directed to be entrusted with the management of its affairs, that no undue influence should prevail at any of its boards. Upon this principle the charter has extended the number of directors to twenty four, to be chosen annually, and subject to rotation, upon the same principle twelve counsellors have been appointed to each presidency.

That as lord Clive had declared in the most solemn manner in the general court of proprietors, "that the company had nothing to fear from the ascendancy of their military servants over the civil, since only an officer was to have a seat in council." That as his lordship's friends in the direction, had on all occasions before the last election, expressed terms equally strong and satisfactory, their sense of the danger and expediency of constituting secret committees, with extended powers either at home or abroad, that as general Carnac and Mr Verelst, in their letters to the directors had condemned such committees and attributed to them all the mischiefs which had of late befallen the company's settlements in Bengal, the memorialists after all these circumstances could not hear without astonishment of a committee having been appointed for Bengal, with more ample, dangerous and discretionary powers than any ever known heretofore

in the company's service. The former secret committees, so much complained of by lord Clive and many of the directors were limited to matters requiring secrecy, and relating chiefly to negotiations with country powers, but still subject to the review of the council, whereas the present committee was subject to no check or controul; and transacting the whole business of the company will induce the other members of the council mere cyphers.

That the appointing of a general over maj Adams to whose gallantry and abilities the company owed its preservation, the appointing Mr Verelst and Mr. Sykes over their seniors, and committee of five over the whole council, was a string of most cruel and unheard of oppressions which would add civil dissention to the calamity of foreign war, and must deprive lord Clive of the very assistance, which he had required in his last from experienced servants.

That by investing these gentlemen with full ample powers, there was the greatest reason to expect the once flourishing and commercial settlement of Bengal, would become purely military for without supporting any of the three civil members of the committee, who owed their appointment merely to lord Clive's recommendation, to be under his lordship's influence, should any of these three gentlemen die, in that case lord Clive would have a casting vote, and general Carnac and he be an absolute majority in the committee.

That one of the reasons given by lord Clive why he would not act in the service of the company, was the due influence he alledged Mr. Sullivan had assumed

assumed, his lordship's words were as usual strong; "All men (he said) were equal to him, provided Mr Sullivan had not the lead," his lordship likewise added, that "with some men words and actions are different" For now that Mr Sullivan's influence did not exist First his lordship declared he would not go to India unless vested with the very powers he had condemned as illegal, when intrusted with Mr Vansittart, and secondly his lordship's friends devised an expedient of a committee equally arbitrary and dangerous

Thus the appointing of this committee was illegal and invalid The commission of the government under the great seal of the company, directed that the whole government should be conducted by a majority of the council That no act of directors could invalidate that authority, without passing under the seal of the company, and revoking the former commissions,

That the charter of justice in Bengal, seemed to be struck at by these regulations, as giving full powers to pursue every means, &c

That these regulations were injurious to the rights and interests of the proprietors, by entrusting their concerns with five, (or more properly with one) when twelve counsellors by the constitution of the company

That the very intention of serving so large a number to compose the council, was to avoid that combination which might be expected from a few, but where these few were evidently the choice of a governor whose wealth and ambition rendered him a proper object of jealousy, where the majority were already under his influence, where the result offered

offered the other counsellors must produce great discontent; where no one good purpose could be alleged; where a thousand evils might be foreseen, and where the military were to approve their own reward, contrary to the intention of the general court of proprietors. It was kindly hoped the court of directors would not, merely to gratify the ambition of one man, create so great an innovation in the affairs of the company; but that they would be pleased to permit the power to rest in the governor and council, where experience had shewn it was least liable to be abused, and where the constitution of the company had regularly placed it.

The consequences of the violent measures and arbitrary proceedings of the Nulla president and his committee, justified too much the memorialist's prediction. Though the council at large was to be consulted by the said committee, the power of determining was to be in that committee alone; the extraordinary powers were immediately to cease and the said committee to be dissolved.

The sentiments of lord Clive with regard to the politics of India, were fully explained in a letter from his lordship to Thomas Rous, Esq. dated Madras, April 15th, 1765; the following is a copy of it:

" Dear Sir,

" We arrived at this place the 10th inst. and shall proceed to Bengal next Saturday the 20th of April. The particulars of our late successes, and now very flourishing condition of the company,

- affairs

airs in Indostan, you will have been informed large before this reaches you

“ I shall therefore only trouble you with my arguments in consequence of these successes, and ask to your co operating with me in carrying into execution, and establishing upon the most solid basis, such parts of my plan as appear capable of answering, when we have both so disinterestedly at heart, the company's honour and prosperity

We have at last arrived at that critical period which I have long foreseen, I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. Since Ally Khawn is dead, and his natural son is minor, but I know not whether he is yet declared successor, Surjah al Dowlah is beat from his dominions, we are in possession of it, and it is scarcely hyperbole to say, the whole mogul empire is in our power. The inhabitants of the country we know by long experience have no attachment to any allegiance, their forces are neither disciplined, commanded nor paid as ours are. Can it then be doubted, that a large army of Europeans will effectually preserve us sovereigns, not only by holding in awe the attempt of any country prince, but by rendering us so truly formidable, that no French, Dutch or other enemy will presume to molest us?

You will, I am sure imagine with me, that after the length we have run, the princes of Indostan must conclude our views to be boundless, they have seen such instances of our ambition, that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation. The very nabobs whom we might suppose, would be either covetous

covetous of our possessions, or jealous of our power. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to destroy us; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us, for the dethroning the first nabob would be followed by setting up another, who from the same principles would, when his treasure admitted of his keeping up an army, pursue the very steps of his predecessor. We must indeed become nabob ourselves in fact, if not in the name, perhaps naturally so without disguise, but on this subject I cannot be certain until my arrival in Bengal. Let us then without delay, complete our three European regiments to one thousand men each; such an army, together with five hundred light cavalry, three or four companies of artillery, and the forces of the country, will certainly render us invincible. In short, if riches and security are the objects of the company, this is the method, the only method now for securing them; our troops you will hear are at this time about half way to Dehly, a march I highly disapprove of; I mean absolutely to bound our possessions and conquests to Bengal, never shall the going to Dehly be a plan adopted by me, if possible to be avoided, and you may depend upon my putting a stop to it, nor should I ever have thought of going such lengths, if others had not rendered it necessary. I could have wished that our operations had been carried on upon a plan of more moderation, and that we had not been obliged to maintain any other military force than what might be sufficient to preserve and pursue our commercial advantages; but since our views are extended, and since commerce alone is not the whole of the company's support, we must

ust go forward ; to retract is impossible. One
 ord more, increase our army to the establishment
 ove-mentioned, 20,000 small arms, with gun-
 powder sufficient, and remember that the light
 cavalry are most necessary ; the present establish-
 ment for Madras is sufficient, no addition is wanted
 here, but Bengal requires your attention.

“ Give me leave now to lead you for a few moments
 to the civil department, the confusion we behold,
 what does it arise from ? Rapacity and luxury, the
 unwarrantable desire of many to acquire in an in-
 stant, what only a few can, or ought to possess.
 Every man would be rich without the merit of long
 services, and from this incessant competition, un-
 doubtedly springs that disorder, to which we must
 apply a remedy, or be undone ; for it is not only
 malignant, but contagious. The new covenants,
 though I don't entirely approve of their present
 shape will make a beginning. Many of the civil ser-
 vants will probably resign their employment. The
 court of directors must supply the settlement with
 young men, more moderate and less eager in their
 pursuit of wealth ; and we may perhaps be reduced to
 the necessity of drawing some senior servants from the
 other settlements. It must be your care, and I trust
 you will do all in your power to send out proper
 gentlemen. Affairs seem to be coming to such a
 pass, that in a little time there will be hardly any
 person at the council board, above the rank or age
 of a writer. In short, the evils, civil and military,
 are now enormous, but they shall be routed out
 whatever odium may be thrown upon me by the
 mistaken disappointment of individuals, I am re-
 solved

solved to act for the advantage of the company in every respect.

" I have not time here to inform you of the whole plan of reformation ; but the motives upon which I have founded it, being no other than the public good, you may safely exert yourself in support, if it should stand in need of your assistance, which I hardly think it can, even though faction should be still raging.

" I proposed no advantage to myself ; I am determined to return to England without having acquired one farthing addition to my fortune ; sure then I cannot possibly design any thing but public good.

" Our affairs are now in a situation as to require the conduct of them should be managed with the utmost secrecy, and consequently the knowledge of them confined to few : I mention this, because I find that your secret committee is abolished, and wish to hear very soon that it is re-established, as I have written to Mr Walsh on this subject, and thought proper to use the same precaution I have taken in you. I must beg you to furnish him with the key, and likewise a copy of this letter.

I am, dear sir,

Your obliged friend,

And humble servant,

(Signed)

CLIVE"

The following copy of another letter from Clive to the honourable sir Joseph Yorke, his Majesty's ambassador and plenipotentiary at the Hague, dated Calcutta, the 7th of November 1765, will shew that he sent remittances to Europe

by the way of Holland; notwithstanding his professed disinterestedness; and protestation that he would not make a farthing addition to his fortune.

“ Sir,

“ I am persuaded you will excuse the liberty I have taken to inclose under your address, a letter to my attornies to England, that it may be sure of going safe to hand; and with as much dispatch as possible. To tell you the plain truth, the letter contains bills of exchange upon the Dutch company; and it affords me great pleasure to inform you, that the great and flourishing condition of the English East India company has reduced us to the necessity of sending our money home in this manner. We have established peace in Bengal, and in consequence are pursuing measures which I hope will make it lasting, and secure to the company the valuable acquisitions lately obtained. The present revenue, exclusive of all expences, amounts to 1,700,000 l. sterling per ann. Our most difficult task now left, is to prevent the sudden growth of private fortunes, and to eradicate luxury and corruption, which, at my arrival, I found at such a height; that I do not think the settlement in that state could have existed another twelvemonth. Fortunes of 100,000 l. have been obtained within the space of two years; and individuals very young in the service, are returning home this year with a million and a half. It would take up too much of your time, as well as mind, to enter into further particulars; I beg leave, however, to refer you to the advices, sent by the admiral Stevens, which

was dispatched home the beginning of last month
 express to the company, with most important news
 I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) C L I V E

After the strictest search, and from the best
 informations, we have not been able to ascertain
 fact on which the noble lord's assertions were
 grounded, on the contrary, we find, that no fortune
 were ever obtained in Bengal by Europeans
 such immensity, or with such rapidity, as these
 his lordship, and the gentlemen who were his co-
 adjutors in politics during his two administrations
 1757, and in 1765. Exclusive of the India stock
 herein acknowledged to have been bought, for
 account of lord Clive, by his attorneys, his lordship made
 considerable purchases from his fellow passengers
 his voyage to India, and after his arrival in Ben-
 gal, transmitted to England several private letters
 with such account of the situation of the company
 affairs as were calculated to enhance its nominal
 value.

An account of such sums as have been distrib-
 ted by the princes and other natives of Bengal
 &c. to the East India company and to lord Clive and
 the other company's servants, from the year 1757
 to the year 1766, both inclusive, distinguishing
 the principal times of the said distributions, and
 specifying the sums received, by each person re-
 spectively.

Revolutions in favour of Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, in 1757.

Mr. Roger Drake, go- vernor	—	31,500
Colonel Robert Clive	234,000	
Ditto his jagueer, agreeable to Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn's perwanah, from the month of Poos in the 1164th year of the Bengal style, or December A. D. 1757, and continu- ed first by com- promise, and after- wards by grant from the company, to the 5th of May 1784, being 26 years and 5 months; at 30,000l. per annum.	—	792,500
		<hr/> 1,026,500
Mr. William Watts		117,000
		<hr/>
Carried over		1,143,500

* The sum stipulated in the Perwannah which was taken from the nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, is 222,958 sicca rupees, which does not make quite 30,000l. per annum, but as the payments made to his lordship have been usually kept for a considerable time in the company's treasury at Bengal, at the interest of eight per cent. This computation must be deemed very moderate.

Brought forward 1,143

Major James Kilpatrick —	60,750	
Mr Charles Manningham —	27,000	1
Mr. Richard Beecher	27,000	
Mr. Paul Richard Parker — —	11,366 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Mr. William Frankland —	11,366 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Mr. Matthew Collett	11,366 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Mr. William Mackett	11,366 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Mr. Peter Amyatt	11,366 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Mr. Thomas Boddam	11,366 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Mr. John Walsh	56,250	
Mr. Luke Scrafton	22,500	
Mr. Henry Luthington —	5,625	
Maj. Archibald Grant	11,250	
Stipulation to the navy and army	600,000	
From which must be deducted the sum of two lacs given to colonel Clive, which is included in the above sum of 234,000 —	22,500	
	<hr/> 577,500	
	<hr/> 2,031,07	

evolutions in favour of Meer Cossim Ally Khawn,
in 1750.

Mr Henry Vanfittart	51,333	
Mr. John Zephaniah Holtwell —	30,937	
Mr. William Bright- well Sumner	28,000	
Mr. William Mac- guire —	20,625	
Ditto 5000 ^l gold mo- hurs —	8,750	
	<hr/>	29,375
General John Caillaud	22,916	
Mr. Culling Smith	15,354	
Major Martin York	15,354	
	<hr/>	200,269

Revolution on the restoration of Meer Jaffier 1763.

Contribution to the ar- my —	291,666	
Ditto to the navy	145,833	
	<hr/>	437,499
Major Hector Munro in 1764 received from Bulwantsing	10,000	
Ditto from the nabob	3,000	
	<hr/>	13,000
The officers in major Munro's family from ditto —	3 000	
	<hr/>	16,000
Carried over		437,499

Brought forward 437,499,

The army received
from the merchants
at Banaras -

46,666

62,666

Accession of Najim al Dowlah, 1765.

Mr. John Spencer

23,333

Mr. Charles Stafford
Playdell -

11,666 $\frac{1}{2}$

Mr. John Johnstone

27,650

Mr. Afcanius Wil-
liam Senior -

20,125

Mr. Samuel Middle-
ton - -

14,291

Mr. John Burdett

11,666 $\frac{1}{2}$

Mr. Ralph Leycester

13,125

Mr. George Gray

11,666 $\frac{1}{2}$

Mr. Gideon Johnstone

5,833

139,357

General John Carnac
received from Bul-
wanting in 1765

9,333

Ditto from the king
Shaw Allum -

23,333

32,666

Lord Clive received
from Meer Jaffer's
widow in 1766 -

58,333

90,999

Restitution

Restitution on the elevation of Meer Jaffier Ally
Khawn, 1757.

To the East India		
company	-	1,200,000
Europeans	-	600,000
Natives	-	250,000
Armenians	-	100,000
		<hr/> 2,150,000

On the depofal of Meer Jaffier, and the elevation
of Meer Cossim, 1760.

To the East India		
company	-	62,500

On the Restoration of Meer Jaffier 1763.

To the East India		
company	-	375,000
Europeans, Natives,		
and Armenians		600,000
		<hr/> 975,000

On the Restoration of Sujah al Dowlah, 1765.

To the East India		
company	-	583,333
		<hr/> 3,770,833

Total amount, including lord		
Clive's jagueer	-	6,732,698
		<hr/>
D d		Copy

Copy of the proceedings of lord Clive and the select committee, held at Calcutta on the 5th of November 1765, upon an application made to the president and council at Madrafs, for four gentlemen of the greatest integrity and ability, and untainted with the corruption and licentiousness of Calcutta, to be taken into the council at Bengal.

Fort William, the 5th of Nov. 1765.

At a Select Committee. Present,
The right hon. lord Clive, President.
William B. Sumner, Esq;
Brigadier general Caroe, and
Harry Verelst, Esq;

The proceedings of the 29th ult. being wrote fair, were now read and approved.

The right honourable the president opens the business of the committee with observing, that our late acquisition of influence and revenue has so widely extended the system of politics hitherto adopted by the company, as to render it indispensably necessary that the administration should be placed in the hands of men of the greatest integrity and ability we can select from the whole list of covenanted servants.

That from a just sense of the great importance of the company's concerns in Bengal, the committee had by the admiral Stevens earnestly exhorted the court of directors to admit of no claim in composing the council of this presidency, but what was founded

founded upon approved merit; and at the same time signified their sentiments of the unsuitness for that exalted station of those gentlemen who now stood next in succession.

That although his lordship considered it would be highly imprudent in the present delicate conjunction of affairs to admit to suffrages at the board, a number of young men deeply tinged with those principles which so universally prevailed in this settlement, yet as time and proper examples may probably effect a reformation in their manners, he should be very sorry to exclude them utterly from the prospect of rising in the service, as must necessarily happen if their juniors should be promoted in preference to them.

That the board being now reduced to a number insufficient to conduct the public business. He apprehends it becomes absolutely necessary to fill up the vacancies in council; for as to calling down the chiefs of the subordinates to assist at the presidency, it might be productive of the worst consequences, since then the whole weight of the investment, and great part of the collections must devolve upon younger servants, who have neither the necessary experience or influence.

That the only expedient he can propose that is any way adequate to the exigency of our situation; and promises fair for promoting the great scheme of reformation, which the committee have so much at heart, appears to him to consist in calling in the assistance of the most capable servants on the Madras establishment below the rank of council, who being yet untainted with the corruption and licentiousness of this settlement, will cordially co-operate

rate in every measure for establishing the spirit of frugality, industry and subordination, among the classes of junior servants, which the committee have always considered as essential to the prosperity, and even to the security of the company's affairs in Bengal. But that his lordship by no means intends thine gentlemen should be looked upon as fixed on this establishment, until the pleasure of the court of directors shall be known ; and that having minutely weighed and examined the character of the covenanted servants next to council at Fort St. George ; his lordship is of opinion, that justice to their merit, and regard to our own situation, require we should give the preference to Messrs. Russel, Aldersey, Kelsall, and Floyer, all men of reputed ability and unblemished honour, as well as of longer standing in the service than any upon our list of junior servants.

In consideration of all these circumstances, his lordship moved, that the committee should immediately apply to the presidency of Fort St. George for the assistance of the above-named gentlemen. And general Carnac and Mr. Verelst approving :

Resolved, That we write to Madraas requesting that Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall, and Floyer may be sent down with all possible dispatch for the purposes specified in the motion.

To this resolution Mr. Sumner enters the following dissent ;

“ I am sorry to be obliged for the first time to enter a dissent to a resolution of this board ; but the present is a case of a nature in which every member will necessarily be expected to judge for himself, and to satisfy his employers of the reasons which

which induced him either to approve or disapprove of the measure proposed. My reasons for disapproving of it, are first, That I do not think we have authority to transfer the servants of another presidency to this, and secondly, as we have already represented to the court of directors by the admiral Stevens, what was then esteemed necessary on the point of the succession to council, that we ought to wait for their orders, and not anticipate or take measures which perhaps may clash with their resolutions and intentions. That the service may not in the mean time suffer from the deficiency of members at the board, I would propose that either those gentlemen who are deemed unexceptionable in our own list of servants, be appointed to fill the vacancies, or that the chiefs of some of the subordinates, whose presence on such emergency might be spared from the business of the investment, should be called down to act as the presidency, until the pleasure of our employers is known, which we may very reasonably expect by the latter ships of next season."

Ordered, that the letter to Fort St. George, be entered after these proceedings.

To the honourable Robert Palk, Esq, President and Governor, &c. Council at Fort George.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The measures we are pursuing in order to accomplish the ends proposed by the court of directors, and secure to the company the greater revenues they now possess in Bengal, are so contrary to the expectations, the views, and interests of many of the servants placed in the highest stations, and intrusted with the most weighty employments of
this

this presidency, that they have thought proper to resign the service. The opulent fortunes they have acquired, and the steps we are taking to prevent so sudden a growth of wealth, at the expence of the company, and the national character, will sufficiently declare the motives of their conduct, and of ours.

Notwithstanding we have found it expedient to reduce the number of the board from sixteen to twelve members, yet three seats are already vacant, and Mr. Senior has expressed his full intention of returning home this season. It is with regret, we observe that these vacancies cannot be filled by the junior servants next in succession; the corruption that prevailed in the government has descended to the lower classes, and a council composed of these would frustrate every attempt to effect that general reformation, so essential to the success and permanency of the measures proposed by our constituents.

We therefore earnestly request, that in consideration of the pressing exigency of our affairs, we may be favoured with the immediate assistance of Messrs. Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer; these gentlemen are senior to any on the list of our covenanted servants below the rank of council, and we cannot entertain a doubt but their removal will be approved by the court of directors, when we have represented the reasons upon which this request is founded.

You, gentlemen, are equally sensible with us of the importance of this settlement to the company, and no less solicitous for its prosperity, which depends so much upon the judicious selection of a board.

board It is therefore our further desire that Messrs Russel, and the other gentlemen, may proceed with all possible dispatch over-land, as the season of the year would render a passage by sea tedious, and we are now forming plans for the collection of the revenues, which will oblige several members of the board to be absent from the presidency

We are,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient,
Humble Servants,

(Signed)

Fort William,
the 5th Nov 1765.

CLIVE.

WB SUMNER.
JOHN CARNAC.
H V RELST.

Copy of a memorial to the court of East India directors from the company's covenanted servants on the Bengal establishment, remonstrating against the select committee's appointment of the four gentlemen from Madras, with the proceedings thereon of the committee on the 20th of January, 1766

Fort William, Jan 20th, 1766

At a select committee present, the right hon. lord Clive, president, William Brightwell Sumner, Brigadier General Carnac, Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, Esqrs The right hon president opens the business of the committee with the following minute

Gen-

Gentlemen,

At our last meeting we had the satisfaction of reading the assent of the president and council of Madras, to our request for the assistance of Messrs. Russel, Aldersey, Kelsall, and Floyer, till the pleasure of the court of directors should be known. The arrival of those gentlemen is an event ardently to be wished, by every man who regards the welfare of the company; and more particularly by us who are the guardians of their inestimable possessions in Bengal. At the time of our appointment, the affairs, at this presidency were known to be in such a state, as required the exertion of extraordinary powers to amend. For that reason was I solicited, by a general court of proprietors, to accept this government. Perhaps, had they been more minutely acquainted with the corruption and licentiousness which prevails, we should have been invested with powers still more extensive. I do not despair, however, to find, that those we have, will prove in a great measure sufficient to lay a solid foundation for the future prosperity of these provinces, and to establish that order, subordination, and oeconomy, without which no government can long exist. For my own part, I am determined to continue with perseverance, as I begun with resolution and disinterestedness, to effect a thorough reformation. The negligences, the abuses, I must add, the frauds, which have too apparently crept into almost every department, the absolute necessity of correcting those, the incapacity either from understanding or principle, of some who rank near to council, and the unsuitness from youth and inexperience

grace and asserting the cause of integrity, innocence
 and abilities. I have authentic information how-
 ever, that at the head of the subscription are the
 names of the two counsellors; the one under a
 severe censure of the committee, and whose ma-
 nagement of the company's investment is under
 scrutiny, and the other ordered down from his
 chiefship; but his conduct may be inquired into.
 Whether those gentlemen have set themselves up as
 leaders of this association from any sense of reflec-
 tion, as mentioned in the memorial; or whether
 they have been unwarily inveigled by the ingeni-
 ous young gentlemen, who, at the age of eigh-
 teen or twenty, find themselves qualified to fill the
 station of counsellor, I presume not to determine;
 but I am sure the court of directors will be struck
 with amazement at the sight of their names, and be
 utterly at a loss how to account for such a proceed-
 ing. I am far from thinking that the gentlemen
 when they think themselves aggrieved, are not en-
 titled to lay their case before their employers; but
 as they cannot be competent judges of the pro-
 ceedings of the select committee, which have not
 been laid before the council, their arraignment of
 our conduct seems rather premature: however, as
 the measure complained of has been already recom-
 mended to the court of directors in my letter to
 them by the admiral Stevens, we shall soon know
 whether it be approved of or not.

If the reasons urg'd for it did not appear satisfac-
 tory at the time they received my letter, I make not
 the least doubt that the conduct of their servants
 upon this occasion, will convince them that there is
 actually no other way of preserving this settlement.

The

The memorial itself cannot give much offence, for though puerile, it is modest, and though plaintive, it is not clamorous. But what will their honourable employers think of the mode in which it has been executed, unless they suppose it to have been instigated by some who are independent in fortune, or have no character to lose. For your information upon this matter, I shall trouble you with an extract of a letter I received on Saturday the 11th instant, from a young gentleman of undoubted authority, who, however has desired me to conceal his name, that he may not be subject to the resentment of his associates. The purport of his letter is hereto annexed, together with extracts of two letters from the same gentleman to Mr. Strachey my secretary.

“ The council room and public offices have, we find, been the places of association for this opposition to our measures. Two gentlemen of council, whose duty it was to have discouraged such a mode of combination, appear to have been the ringleaders in the business. Although the arrival of the Madras gentlemen could no more affect those already at the board, that it can those who landed a few weeks ago in the character of writers, just qualified by the age of sixteen for that station; the secretary's office at the time of a great hurry of business on the dispatch of the ships, has been employed in summoning the civil servants residing in Calcutta, to sign this memorial, and in writing circular letters to the absentees for permission to add their names, though the particulars of the proceedings of the committee, to which the memorial relates are yet unknown. These gentlemen

men have it seems gone further ; they have agreed to add insult to faction, by declaring the gentlemen who are coming from Madras shall be treated with contempt, and the members of the committee not visited, nor any of their invitations accepted.

For my own part, gentlemen, every day's experience convinces me of the expediency of the power granted to the select committee ; without such power several of us had at this time been on our passage home, and extravagance, luxury and corruption had arrived perhaps at the end of their endeavours, the ruin of the company in Bengal. The supporters and abettors of the present association deserve our most serious attention, and I desire we may immediately take their conduct into consideration. Their remonstrances, as I have already observed, is too puerile to merit our notice, but the factious manner of making it will, if uncensured, be a lasting reproach upon my government, and a tacit approbation of that licentious spirit which it is our duty to suppress

(Signed) Clive."

His lordship also desires the following extracts from letters of intelligence to himself and his secretary Mr. Strachey, may be read.

Purport of a letter to lord Clive, dated Calcutta the 11th January, 1766.

That a meeting was held on the 10th instant at Mr. Vansittart's country house, wherein it was resolved, that a memorial should be forthwith drawn up against the unprecedented and injurious steps of sending

sending for counsellors to this presidency from Madras: that those gentlemen should on their arrival be treated with insolence and contempt; and that any person belonging to this settlement, who should presume to shew them the least civility or countenance, should be branded with ignominy, and banished society: That the most active in this affair were Mr. French, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Majendie, the factors and senior writers; but that the memorial was to be signed by the whole body of servants in the order they rank, to be laid before the court of directors and there backed by the united interest of the respective friends. That Mr. Sumner had been sounded, but that he had refused signing his name; and that Mr. Campbell was not to be made acquainted with the affair, till the last moment, as they feared he would give his lordship information thereof.

Extract of a letter to lord Clive's secretary, dated the 11th January, 1766.

"I must now request you will inform him (lord Clive) in addition that Mr. Marriott and Mr. Senior are principals in the affair; the former remained in a room a long time this morning, with several of the gentlemen mentioned in my letter to lord Clive, to influence the writers, who were invited thither for that purpose to sign their names to the famous memorial, all of whom did accordingly sign it, though some much against their inclinations."

Extract

Extract of a letter to lord Clive's secretary, dated
the 12th January, 1766.

“ Please to inform my lord that I learned last night, Mr. Watts had after repeated solicitations consented to sign the memorial ; but his accession is kept a greater secret than that of any of the others. Mr. Sumner has also, at last, I am told, promised to sign it when it returns from Decca, whither it was sent last night to be signed by the gentlemen there. There was no such thing as getting into the council-house yesterday, except for one who went to sign the memorial, as the officers were taken up in writing circular letters, and nobody admitted that was not previously examined. A resolution is taken by the servants invited to dine with his lordship to-morrow, not to wait on him, nor to accept of any invitation for the future.”

Lord Clive likewise desires that the following copy of the memorial from the servants of this presidency to the honourable court of directors may be read.

To the honourable the court of directors for the affairs of the honourable united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

“ May it please your honours,

When your servants in any instance think themselves aggrieved, you have been pleased to favour them with the indulgence of an application for redress immediately to yourselves, through the channel of president and council. No occasion could
more

more urgently call for the disagreeable necessity of claiming this privilege, than the situation wherein we now find ourselves by a circumstance from which we think we have received a most unmerited and mortifying injury and disgrace.

Various letters from Madra's inform us, that the select committee here have invited Messrs Claud Ruffel, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall and Charles Ffloyer of that place, to succeed to seats in council upon this establishment, and that those gentlemen are according on their way hither. Were we conscious of having neglected our duty or behaved unfaithfully in the trust reposed in us, we should submit with patience and look upon such severity to be justly inflicted; but satisfied as we are of our innocence, we are struck with amazement and utterly at a loss how to account for such a proceeding.

As to the abilities of those gentlemen, we cannot but flatter ourselves, that many may be found on this establishment in no respect inferior to them; and as to the company's business and interest in Bengal, we must in that point surely be superior to them. If our integrity be called in question, it is certainly a most cruel act thus to stigmatize a whole settlement unheard. Such a procedure could not fail to damp our zeal for your service, and make our duty a burthen to us, had we not an entire conviction of obtaining redress from your impartiality and justice.

In the seventeenth paragraph of your commands by the 19th February 1762, you were pleased to give us reason to hope, that your servants here should rise in regular succession, and not have the mortification

sation of being superseded; but when cases of an absolute necessity should force you to a deviation. The flattering hopes from you our masters, must undoubtedly add weight to the sense, we entertain of the injury done us upon this occasion by our fellow servants, whom we never understood to be appointed the judges of such a necessity, or invested with an authority to make any appointments upon your civil list; and this step from the present committee, is the more affectingly striking, as lord Clive in his letter to your honours, of the 27th of April, has the following sentence:

“The heart-burnings and disputes which seem to have spread and over-run your settlement at Calcutta, arose, I much fear, from your appointment of Mr. Vansittart to the government of Bengal, from another settlement, although his promotion was the effect of my recommendation. The appointment, therefore, of Mr. Spencer from Bombay, can only tend to inflame their dissensions, and to destroy all those advantages which the company can only expect to reap from harmony and unanimity amongst their servants abroad.”

We wish ever to preserve that respect which is due to our superiors in the service, and we hope it will appear to you, that we are absolutely forced into this representation: and that we should be men unworthy your service, if we did not express our deep sense of the injustice we have suffered. To you we submit our cause, not doubting but you will redress our grievances; this will be adding to the obligations already received from you; and we beg leave to assure you, we shall ever retain a grateful sense of it, and ever serve you with zeal
and

and fidelity The gentlemen of council who have set their hands to this address, although not immediately affected by the measure that has been taken, have done it as a testimony of their sense of the unjust restriction cast upon your servants in general, on this establishment, and the gentlemen to whose names an asterisk is prefixed, being absent from the settlement, and at too great a distance to have the original circulated to them before the dispatch of the ships could not sign it themselves, but having received copies thereof, have approved it, and desire their names to be subscribed.

We are, with the utmost respect.

May it please your honours,

Your most faithful, obedient,

And most devoted humble servants?

This memorial was signed by ninety one gentlemen in the company's service.

Copy of a letter from Mr Gerald Gustavus Ducarell, to the president and council at Calcutta, on the subject of the memorial recorded on their consultation of the 22d of January, 1766.

To the right hon Lord Clive, and members of the council.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

"I think it my duty to inform you, that on Saturday the 11th inst. January, I was sent for to the council house, where many of the company's servants were assembled, in order to sign a memorial, addressed to the honourable court of directors, re-

monstrating against the proceedings of the select committee, with regard to sending for several gentlemen from Madras, to take their seats at the board, on the Bengal establishment.

The consequence of remaining single, among a multitude who appeared to be unanimous, the dread of becoming the scorn of my fellow-servants, and the want of time to deliberate upon the propriety of what I was about to do, overcame my judgment, and I inadvertently added my name to the numbers who had already subscribed to that memorial.

A few hours reflection convinced me of the folly I had been guilty of. I saw the impropriety and impertinence of my subscribing to a remonstrance against a measure, of which I could not possibly form any judgment; and which, right or wrong, could not affect a man so young in the service as I was. The supposition, that the complaint of a writer could weigh down the arguments of experienced counsellors, who are intrusted with the whole management of the company's affairs, appeared to me absolutely ridiculous; and to pronounce, in a matter which could only concern those who were near to council, sounded more the cry of faction, than the remonstrance of reason. I accordingly without delay wrote to Mr. Majendie, desiring he would erase my name from the subscriptions to the said memorial; and also to declare, if occasion should require it, that I had entered my early protest against the memorial in general, and against my own inconsiderate assent in particular. That gentleman, however, in a letter to me, has thought proper to decline complying with my request. He

He tells me, that unless I direct my protest to the whole body of servants, to the governor and council, to the court of directors, or to himself in his public character, no notice will be taken, nor my name erased from the memorial. Since, I find this business is to be transacted in so official a mode, I take the earliest opportunity of applying, through the regular form, in order to extricate myself from the error I had too hastily engaged in. Your lordship, &c. will excuse the prolixity of this address, as well as my having chosen to address you at all, seeing that my honour and future welfare are concerned in your having before you a true state of my conduct, together with my real sentiments on this occasion. What I have said will, I hope, in some measure secure for me your good opinion, which I shall always be studious to deserve. And I request you will be pleased either to order my name to be struck out, before the memorial is transmitted to the court of directors, or inform them that I have earnestly solicited that favour.

I have the honour to be

My lord and gentlemen,

Mirzapore,
19th Jan 1766.

Your most obedient, and
Most faithful humble servant.

Gerard Gustavus Ducarell."

Copies and extracts of minutes, letters, and proceedings, of the president and members of the council at Calcutta, from the 25th September 1765, to the 3d of March 1766, relative to the disputes with lord Clive, which occasioned the first imprisonment

imprisonment of the merchant Rainaut, the suspension of Mr Ralph Leicester, and the resignation of Mr. George Gray, with the proceedings of the board, in their judicial capacities, upon Rainaut's first confinement.

Extract from the proceedings of the president and council at Calcutta, on the 25th September. 1765.

Mr. Gray delivers in the following minute, in consequence of some imputations which he has heard have been laid to his charge before lord Clive ; which he desires may be inquired into.

Mr. Gray's Minute.

“Having been informed, by common report, that some imputations have been laid to my charge before lord Clive, which are prejudicial to my character, and detrimental to my credit ; I now request, his lordship will be pleased to inform the board of whatever I may have been charged with, that I may have an opportunity of vindicating my reputation from any injurious aspersions thrown out against me ; at the same time, I have received intelligence, that some persons at Murshadabad are now, or have been very lately, under actual confinement by Mahommed Reza Khawn, to extort evidence against me. Although I am at all times willing and ready to acquiesce in a candid enquiry, for the justification of my conduct, yet I cannot submit to methods so contrary to justice, practised by Mahommed Reza Khawn, to injure me. I therefore request, that he may be ordered to set those persons at liberty. The persons I speak of, are Rajah Davising, former Dewan of Purnea, and Meer Burkutt Ulla, an Officer of the Purnea government. The first of these, just before the war com-

commenced, with Meer Cossim, sent me intelligence of Meer Sheer Ally Khawn's hostile intentions against me at Maldah ; the last saving the lives of some European gentlemen, who happened to be kept prisoners at Ragemahl, before the capture of Udwa Fort, and was, at my recommendation to major Adams, and by his solicitation to the late nabob, appointed to any employ in the Purnea district. The public services of both merit our protection ; but it has not proved a defence for them against the oppressions of the officers of the nabob's government.

(Signed) George Gray."

Lord Clive informs Mr. Gray in answer, that, at his request, he will communicate the circumstances on the board.

Extract from the proceedings of the president and council at Calcutta, on the 30th September, 1765.

" Mr. Gray likewise enters the following minute on the same subject as that recorded on last consultation, on certain imputations laid to his charge, which he desired might be enquired into. I beg leave to acquaint the board, that having been informed a servant of mine was confined in his house by lord Clive, under a guard of seapoys ; I went yesterday to his lordship, to acquaint him that the person was my servant and his lordship informed me had he known he was my servant, he would have sent to acquaint me of the circumstance. I then desired the person might be released from his military confinement, offering to be answerable for his appear-

appearance ; but his lordship was pleased to refuse me. I asked his lordship on what account he was confined ? and his lordship answered, for heinous crimes and misdemeanors, as would appear bye and bye ; on which account it was not proper any person, of either side, should have communication with him. I have to remark, in my minute, I desired a fair and candid enquiry : but certainly the confinement of my servant seems not to indicate to the world that candour I hoped for, neither do I know it to be agreeable to the rules of any English court of justice whatever.

(Signed) George Gray."

Extract from the proceedings of the president and council at Calcutta, on the 14th October 1765.

Mr. Gray now lays before the board the following representation. On Tuesday last, I received the following note from lord Clive ; a copy of which think it necessary to lay before you.

S I R, Calcutta the 8th October 1765,
 " Complaint has this morning been made to me, that you are taking money from the whores of this town, which I understand is practice prohibited by the company, and therefore I desire you will discontinue it, until you are authorized to the contrary by the governor and council.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
 To George Gray, Esq.

(Signed) Clive "

I shall first observe, that being at the head of an office, and accountable to the board for my conduct,

duct, I do not think myself privately responsible to the president; or at least, unless in a case of the greatest exigency, that there can be occasion for his issuing orders of his own private authority, when the office is upon the spot, and the power of assembling the council rests with him. I cannot therefore conceive, that his lordship has a right to order me to discontinue any measures that I may think, consistent with my authority, in the office under my charge: and upon that opinion I answered his note by a letter, of which the following is a copy.

Calcutta, Oct. 8, 1765.

My Lord,

"I have received your note; but believe you are mistaken, in what you understand the company had forbid to be levied from the women of the town. Those orders relate to the zemindar's duties, but do not extend to any regulations formed by the collector. Next council day I shall lay before the board what I had proposed, together with your lordship's note; and if they disapprove of my measures, they shall immediately be discontinued. I cannot help observing here, that your lordship seems to give a very ready and attentive ear to every information and insinuation to my prejudice, nor can I help thinking there is justice in Mr. Bland's observation, "That your lordship seems determined to render the service a burthen to those who have chanced to differ from you in opinion."

I am, with due respect, my Lord,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) George Gray.

To the right hon. Lord Clive.

I must first complain to the board, that his lordship, without consulting them, or informing me, called some of the servants of my office, and privately demanded from them, accounts of money received ; which, I think, both implies a suspicion, and promulgates it through the town, that I intended to render false accounts. I shall next take notice of the style of his lordship's note, where he says, "I take the money from the whores of the town, &c." Such an expression is unbecoming from one gentleman to another, and I must beg leave to think still more so from the president of the council to a member of the same government. Indecency of sentiment and expression, unmerited and unsupported, I believe will always be considered to reflect on the person who utters it ; but still the imputation alone being injurious, I must very particularly disprove it. I must inform the board, that on my first entry on the office of collector, the prostitutes offered me a *selaamy*, which I was assured was usual, and which would have amounted to to near two thousand rupees. This offer I refused ; but in compliance with an established custom, I desired the principal amongst them to present one gold mohur, and five rupees in the name of the whole, and I accepted that nuzzer. On their going away, the same person who gave the nuzzer, represented, it was customary for one set to dance, and to receive *enam* for a gratification ; and I gave them more money than the amount of their nuzzer.

However, although I would not receive any benefit from their present ; yet I thought I was at liberty to apply their offers to their own advantage.

Con-

Considering the miserable state of those women, a prey to the most loathsome distempers, and spreading infection around them; many of them when diseased, through carelessness, neglecting themselves, and others so poor, that they cannot afford to pay for their cure; I proposed what I thought would be for their relief. I determined to keep ten black doctors constantly to attend those women, and to give them medicines when disordered. For the poorer sort, I was to have provided a house, or kind of hospital, where they were to remain while under cure; and to be supplied with diet and clothing, with other regulations, such as appeared to me proper. After I had settled the plan, in which I had the consent of the greatest part of the women themselves, and actually taken the doctors into service, I then directed my people to apply to these women for their shares of the sclaamy, which they had before voluntarily offered. Such was my scheme, and I found it approved by all who heard of it. Yet where is the design, in itself ever so good, which falshood cannot blacken, and malice pervert? What I proposed for the good of a parcel of wretched, unthinking creatures, as well as to prevent the most pernicious infection from spreading in our settlement, has been set forth in such a light, as to be construed into a mean practice of taking money from the whores. What I have mentioned, I do not desire should stand on my own bare assertion, there are several witnesses to prove these circumstances, who I desire may be called, to declare, upon oath, what they know of this affair. In the mean time, I request the board will appoint some other gentlemen to take charge of the collectorship, as I can-

not think of acting longer in an office, where I have been treated with so much indignity, and where the president lessens my authority with those immediately under my charge.

This subject concluded, I think it behoves me to take the present opportunity of remarking to the board, that although it is now above three weeks since I called upon lord Clive, to make known the reports which had been propagated to the prejudice of my character, nothing has yet been laid before them. I understand great pains have been taken to collect informations against me, but secure on the basis of a conscience which ever detested mean actions, I defy all researches and enquiries. I have great reason to suspect, that those may be employed, and stretched to their utmost extent, to seek for flaws or errors in my conduct, but that little regard will be paid to, whatever may tend to the benefit of my character.

Pretexts to disapprove may be easily found by those who are greedy to condemn, or make the world condemn; but I trust, candour and reason will justify a conduct, which hath ever been directed by a good intention; and I now call upon lord Clive to declare, whether, previous to the request I made, to have the informations laid before the board, (and to which he replied, that it was not his intention to have them laid before the board, had it not been of my own seeking) he did not mention it in private companies, so that a report was propagated in the settlement, that he was possessed of accusations to the detriment of my character. The answer of his lordship, which was made at council three weeks ago, implied plainly, that he
had

had at that time, accusations against me. I have a right to insist, and now demand, that those be immediately laid before the board; otherwise it must appear to the world, that he then threw out, at random, reports to the injury of my character, without foundation; and that he has been since hunting for informations to endeavour to support them, lest if he did not make a good charge against me, he might suffer discredit. At the same time, I desired lord Clive to make the information public, I required of the board to afford me a candid, open, and impartial enquiry; what I have not only a right to, as one of their body, but as a subject of a free government. How inconsistent with every part of this request, the ransacking different parts of the country for accusations, imprisoning people whom I have had in my employ, or been otherwise connected with; and exercising severities upon them, to drive them to give informations to my prejudice, are, is what I submit to your judgment: for my own part, I think, a method of proceeding so contrary to equity, and the known laws of our land, must of itself overset any accusations it produces, and acquit me to the world. But not choosing to subject myself implicitly to such abuse of power, I now call upon the board immediately to protect me and my servants from such violence, and to support me in an enquiry, free from the irregularities I complain of: otherwise I shall be obliged to relinquish the service, informing my employers, that I am driven to such a step by the unheard of violent and oppressive conduct of their president.

(Signed) George Gray.

The

The foregoing minute having been perused, lord Clive also enters the following representation on the same subject, as the first part thereof.

"I have the honour to lay before the board a copy of a letter written to me by Mr. Gray the 8th inst. in consequence of an information and complaint which I had received of his levying money from the prostitutes of Calcutta; a practice, which I understand to have been prohibited by the company, and which, I therefore, desired him to suspend, till he should have proper authority for continuing it. I also trouble you with a copy of his answer to my letter: wherein he observes, that I seem to give a very ready and attentive ear to every information, or insinuation to his prejudice: and adds, that he thinks there is justice in Mr. Burdett's observation, 'That I seem determined to render the service a burthen to those who differ from me in opinion.' It will always give me great concern, when any gentleman entertains suspicions so derogatory from my real character, as those mentioned by Mr. Gray: but as I can hear them with temper; and invalidate them by an appeal to my actions, my concern can never flow from any other motive, than the desire I have to see our consultations unanimous in the pursuit of one single object, the company's interest; and the hopes I had formed of finding every individual so justly satisfied with his own principles of conduct, as not to permit him to suppose they could effectually be attacked by the prejudices or credulity of any man. Be this as it may, I am determined to perform the duty, and support the honour of government, by an impartial examination into every grievance, and by counteracting the
designs

designs of oppression wherever they are presented to my view, equally regardless of the shafts of calumny, and the relentment of disappointed ambition. Conscious, as I am, of the impartial and disinterested part I have hitherto acted, I dare appeal to the hearts and voices of this board to determine, whether Mr. Gray and Mr. Burdett, in the observation they have thought proper to make upon my conduct, have not mistaken a difference of principle for a difference of opinion. With regard to the purport of my letter to Mr. Gray, which seems to have given great offence to his dignity in office, it is now before you, and I desire the favour of your sentiments severally on the following consequential questions :

1. Whether the president is not virtually at the head of every office ? and in case of any new regulations being undertaken without the sanction of the board, which he thinks dishonourable, or disadvantageous to the company ; whether he has not a right to call upon the persons acting in such office, to desist from making such regulations, till they have the consent and approbation of the board ? Is it not his duty to receive the petitions, and give ear to the complaints of those who think themselves injured or oppressed ?

(Signed) Clive."

The copies of the letters referred to by his lordship being perused, appears to correspond exactly with those produced by Mr. Gray. The first question proposed by his lordship, being now put severally to the members of the board ; their answer thereto were taken as follow Mr. Leycester is of opinion, that the governor is virtually at the head

of every office, and has a right to examine into the management of it: but does not think that, if he finds new regulations taken without the sanction of the board, he has a right to discontinue them of his own authority; as in half an hour the council may at any time be assembled, and a member of the board in office, can only receive orders from the president and council; and that therefore the president, in such cases, should summon a council, and submit the circumstances to the decision of the board. Mr. Verelst thinks the president has the right lord Clive mentions. General Carnac thinks he is the head of every office, and as such has a right to suspend the execution of any regulations, that are not warranted by the board. To the other question, the board unanimously reply in the affirmative. Some discourse and argument passing between his lordship and Mr. Gray on the subject of the foregoing representations, concerning Mr. Gray's receiving money from the prostitutes of the settlement, his lordship, upon a declaration made by Mr. Gray entered the following minute: lord Clive thinks any attested papers of Mr. Gray's not intending to receive the money from the prostitutes unnecessary; as he has declared, in the presence of this board, that he should not have thought, it wrong to receive the money from them on his account. Lord Clive farther lays before the board the following minute; in answer to Mr. Gray's requiring the charges which he might be possessed of against him.

The candid proceedings of the select committee upon a late occasion, having been closed and transmitted to the court of directors, I was in hope;

the gentlemen of council would have readily acquiesced with the expediency of the measures that had been pursued, nor have called for new matter to prove the necessity of a thorough reformation. It was not my intention; much less was it my desire, to enter farther into subjects of so disagreeable and odious a nature, unless obliged thereto, by such additional complaints as my duty might forbid me to conceal. It is true, that fresh complaints, prejudicial to Mr. Gray's character, and detrimental to his credit, as he expresses himself, in his minute of the 25th September, have been laid before me; and it is no less true that I wished to see them accommodated, without being driven to the necessity of troubling the committee, or council, with facts and circumstances which humanity would persuade me not to make public. Mr. Gray however has called upon me for them, in order to give him an opportunity of vindicating his injured reputation; and this he seems certain of being able to accomplish, since he demands the charge with that unembarrassed confidence, which is properly assumed by accused innocence. I shall therefore, with the less anxiety, lay before the board, agreeably to Mr. Gray's request in a few days, them imputations I am desired to produce; which, however strong in appearance, will, I hope, fail to impeach a conduct superior to all excuse, and fearless of all accusations. Mr. Gray, totally ignorant of the cause of Davising's confinement, requests he may be set at liberty; this board will permit me to acquaint them, that the Rajah is not confined in order to extort evidence against Mr. Gray, as that gentleman, in his minute above-mentioned, is pleased

to

to assert, but on no less an occasion than arrears of rent, amounting to many lacks of rupees, due to the government, Meer Burkutt Ulla, and others, are also under confinement, on account of deficiencies in their payment of revenues which deficiencies they alledge to have partly arisen from sums extorted, and presents made to certain gomastahs and inferior agents, some of whom have taken great liberties with Mr Gray's name.

(Signed) Clive "

And Mr Gray proposes the following questions severately to lord Clive, and the other members of the board, which he requests they will severally please to reply to

Questions to lord Clive.

" Have you not, subsequent to my minute of the 20th September, been seeking charges against me? or was you at that time, in possession of complaints to authorise the imputations thrown out against me? and could it be out of tenderness to me that, while the utmost injurious use was made of such informations, you wished to avoid entering on a public explanation? Have you authorized any person to demand, by threats of guards and punishment, private letters of mine, or papers, or accounts touching my fortune or connections? Whether your lordship, being a justice of the peace, and of course knowing you ought to be guardian of the liberty of the subject, hath not placed military guards over inhabitants of this settlement, and particularly over men with whom I have been connected, and subsequent to my calling on your lordship to set forth any charges against me?

Whether

Whether you did not give a perivanah to Bóla-kydass, assuring him he might carry on his business with confidence; and on your return to Calcutta, finding this man a suitor to the board, for recovery of a sum of money lent to the company in 1763, in a time of distress, which surely entitled him to the company's favour and protection, whether your lordship did not send a chubdar to order him to quit the settlement, when it was known that the harpies and spies of Mahommed Reza Khawn, and Juggetseat, his known enemies, were hovering about to seize him the moment he quitted Calcutta. Whether, after thus turning out a man under the board's protection, you did not, in a few days, send for him back? Whether you have not since received him with favour? And whether you have not been endeavouring to collect from this man information against me? If you heard complaints against me, why did you not rather inform me of them yourself, than mention them to others privately, by which a suspicion was raised of my character, which I could have no opportunity of clearing up?

Questions to the several members of the board.

Whether it is agreeable to equity and the laws of our constitution, for the president to seize, with military guards, the civil inhabitants of this settlement, residing under the protection of our flag, either merchants, servants to British subjects, or others, and to place military guards upon their houses, persons, and properties; or to demand, by use of force, threats, or other harsh means, any informations, papers, or other matters, or things tending to the injury of British subjects, or those under protection of his majesty's charter?

H h

Whether

Whether informations so obtained, are of any validity in courts of law or equity?

Whether such practices are not destructive of the trade, peace, and security of the settlement, by being a breach of that hospitality, protection, and confidence, by which all well regulated communities flourish? Whether a conduct which must deter men of property from residing in the settlement, is not injurious to the company?

Whether the governor of the settlement has the privilege, in time of profound peace, to employ the company's soldiers to seize our inhabitants, or place them over their houses?

Whether, on information on oath, laid before one of his majesty's justices, by an inhabitant of this settlement, that his house has been assaulted, or person seized by a band of armed men, whether such justice can refuse to issue a warrant, in order to commit to goal, or bind over to the peace, such assailants, or their abettors? Whether such attempts to degrade a member of this board, in the eyes of the servants of the company, to depreciate thus the credit and character of one of his majesty's justices and judges, in a settlement, over which his jurisdiction extends, is becoming in Lord Clive, whether considered as a president of this council, or as one of the king's justices, bound by oath to afford protection, and render justice to every man who claims it?

Agreed, that copies of these questions be delivered to the several gentlemen, that they may give in their answers in writing.

Copy of the proceedings of the bench of his majesty's justices of peace for the town of Calcutta, held the 18th of October, 1765.

Present,

The right honourable lord Clive, president; William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, and Ralph Leycester, Esquires.

Mr. Verelst acquaints the bench, that Mr. Gray waited upon him this morning, and informed him that, understanding some people were stationed as a guard over the person and house of Ramnaut, he had brought with him two gentlemen, Messrs. Francis Peacock and Walter Brown, to give their depositions on the occasion, and desired a warrant of Mr. Verelst to seize such armed men, and their abettors, who therefore requested a bench of justices might be summoned to take the subject into consideration.

Mr. Francis Peacock being now called upon to give his evidence, deposeth upon oath as follows :

" That he, accompanied by Mr. Walter Brown, went to the house of Ramnaut, where they found a seapoy with a fixed bayonet, who refused them admittance, upon which, he told the centinel, they had some business with the said Ramnaut, and desired to speak to him ; to this the seapoy replied, it was lord Clive's orders that no one should see him, and that he was to be kept a close prisoner in his room. In the mean time, a servant of Ramnaut's came out to them, and asked if they would not come in. The evidence then asked the seapoy a
second

second time time for admittance, who again refused it, saying, it was lord Clive and the major's orders that no person should have entrance Upoo which Ramnaut's servant informed them, that during the first part of his confinement he was allowed to sit out in his room, but now he was closely confined and also, that he had been plundered by the seapoys of money and jewels And further the deponent saith not.

(Signed) Francis Peacock."

"Mr Walter Brown being sworn as an evidence, deposeth, That, oo the 16 h October 1765, he went, with Mr Francis Peacock to the house of Ramnaut, in order to speak with him, but when he came there, he found a number of seapoys in the passage That he asked a ceotioel, with a fixed bayooet, if he might not have permission to see Ramnaut who told him he could not, as there were positive orders for no person whomsoever to be admitted He then asked the seapoy, by whose orders he was plac'd there? to which he replied, by the major's, according to lord Clive's orders, and further the deponent saith not.

(Signed) Walter Brown."

Mr Leycester requests the proclamation, issued by his majesty's justices for the town of Calcutta, and districts thereof, at their quarter sessions holden for the said town, on the 3d of June 1762, may be read, of which the following is a copy. .

A Proclamation

"It is need'less to enlarge upon the benefits which will accrue to the body of this town, and to every individual

individual thereof, by a free and impartial administration of the laws of England to the inhabitants in general, of whatever cast or profession. Nothing can so effectually secure the persons and properties of the people. In the company's others presidencies the inhabitants have long enjoyed this benefit, as they have had the authority of his majesty's gracious charter : but in Bengal, political reasons, arising from the restraints laid upon our settlements by the country government, have hitherto prevented the free exercise of the excellent laws thereby dispensed. These reasons no longer subsisting, it is the intention of the court to put the laws of England in force against all offences that may be committed in the town of Calcutta, and districts thereof, designed by the charter, of which intention the court have thought proper to give this public notice and warning.

Mr. Gray delivers in the following information, having previously sworn to the truth of it.

" Mr. Gray acquaints the justices, that he was informed, by Ramnaut's servants, that a guard of armed men were upon the house of the said Ramnaut, who confined the said Ramnaut very closely, and who had taken sundry things from him, and had used him severely in other respects. That hereupon Mr. Gray sent the two gentlemen who have given their depositions, to see whether there were actually a guard upon the said Ramnaut's house, or not, and to ask him, whether he was so ill treated as the said servant had declared, or not ? the two gentlemen returning, brought the information they have deposed to, and Mr. Gray, as a justice of the peace, and bound to take notice of
whatever

whatever he deemed contrary to the laws and privileges of the charter, went, accompanied by Messrs Francis Peacock and Walter Brown, to Mr Verelst, justice of the peace, to desire a warrant might be issued to apprehend the armed men, who committed, or were committing these violent and tumultuous acts. Mr Verelst refused to grant any warrant, or take depositions from the above witnesses. Upon this information, Mr Verelst desired Mr. Gray might be asked, if he did not reply to Mr. Gray, that he would desire a bench of justices immediately to sit and determine the matter, and likewise ordered the evidencees to attend for that purpose. That this happened exactly at a quarter before nine this morning, and the justices met exactly half an hour after nine. Mr Gray informs the bench that it was so and that he replied, that every moment the man continued under this improper confinement, it was so much detriment to him, and that it was impossible, during this delay, the people who committed this violence might make their escape, or words to that effect. Mr. Leycester asked the opinion of the justices, whether any man living within the precincts of his majesty's court, can, or ought to be confined by military guards longer than is necessary to deliver him up to the civil magistrates?

Lord Clive informs the bench that he has received numberless complaints from Mahommed Reza Khawn, and others, of extortion and oppression committed by Ramnaut, that his lordship has several evidences which he will lay before the governor and council, and which is the reason of his not delivering him over to the civil power, until it is deter-

determined whether he is to be delivered up to the nabob.

Mr. Leycester repeats his former question, and further asks the bench, whether lord Clive, being in possession of any accusation whatever against Ramnaut, is a sufficient plea for detaining him so long under military confinement, and whether he shall be any longer confined?

Mr. Leycester is of opinion, that as two men have deposed, upon oath, before this bench, that they have themselves seen the house of a person residing in Calcutta, beset with a body of armed men, a warrant should be immediately issued to apprehend such assailants and disturbers of the peace, and security of those living under the protection of his majesty's charter.

Mr. Verell minutes it as his opinion, that there is not sufficient reason for a warrant to be granted.

Mr. Sumner informs the bench, that considering him as an inhabitant of Maldah, and subject to the laws of the country government, and to be delivered up to Mahommed Reza Khawn, in case these accusations are proved against him on an examination before the board, he thinks Ramnaut should be continued under confinement, and that the military guards should be tried by the civil power, provided they have robbed or deprived Ramnaut of any of his goods.

Lord Clive is of opinion, that the evidences which have been given, being only from hearsay, are not sufficient grounds for issuing a warrant.

A true copy.

(Signed) Edward Barber, Clerk.

Extract from the proceedings of the president and council at Calcutta, on the 18th of October. 1765.

The board, except general Carnac and Mr. Gray, having, before they sat in council, assembled as a bench of his majesty's justices, summoned by Mr. Verelst, upon a representation made to him by Mr. Gray, touching the confinement of a servant of his, with a guard of seapoys. A copy of their proceedings thereon is ordered to be entered on this consultation, for the sake of reference.

Lord Clive delivers in the following minute, in answer to Mr. Gray's, and the question proposed by him to his lordship, at the consultation of the 14th inst.

The only notice I think proper to take of the minute and questions proposed by Mr. Gray, on Monday last, is by way of observation, that the extraordinary warmth with which he has expressed himself on the circumstance of Ramnaut's confinement, seems to imply, that he is a party concerned. Whether he is or is not, will be determined by this board from the proceedings.

And general Carnac and Mr. Verelst enter the following minutes, upon the questions at the same time proposed to the other members of the board.

“The questions proposed by Mr. Gray, being founded upon a supposition of facts for which there is no proof to this board more than bare assertions of his own, which seem principally actuated by resentment, and only done to draw forth the previous judgment of each member, before any fact is authenticated to ground such judgment upon; General Carnac and Mr. Verelst deem them unbecoming,

coming highly injurious to the governor, and unworthy an answer from them, as members of the board:

Mr. Gray enters the following minutes in reply to the foregoing from lord Clive.

“ Lord Clive has no right to put any such invidious construction upon my endeavouring to procure justice due to Ramnaut. He has been in my employ, and I can plainly discern, that in attacking him, his lordship thinks he makes an indirect attack upon me. I will therefore defend him as long as I can, for I am convinced, that had not his lordship expected to have procured accusations against me by this means, Ramnaut was a man too inconsiderable ever to have become an object of his notice. His lordship takes occasion to evade an answer to my queries, under the foregoing pretence, which to me appears very insufficient indeed; however, it undoubtedly intitles me to the liberty of putting what constructions I please upon his lordship’s silence, and which I may not only pass myself, but by stating the queries to the public, and informing them, that his lordship declined to answer, obtain their judgment also.”

General Carnac and Mr. Leycester lay before the board the following minutes, on the subject of a debate which arose at the forementioned consultation, touching the propriety of lord Clive’s confinement of Ramnaut, Mr. Gray’s servant.

The general Minutes.

“ It having been industriously propagated, that general Carnac had asserted this to be a military government, to the total exclusion of the civil pow-

er ; and as from what Mr. Sumner avows having been said to him on this subject by Mr. Leycester ;

There is great reason to believe, that this scandalous and malicious report owes its rise to that gentleman : to prove the falshood of the allegation, the general appeals to the gentlemen who were present at the last council, and he requests they will do that justice to his character, to declare the conversation that past between Mr. Leycester and him at that time, and their sense of the same."

Mr. Leycester's Minute.

A minute of Mr. Gray's, on Monday last having occasioned some debate; lord Clive in the course of it declared, That the company's government in Bengal was a military government, as well as a civil one. The debate arose on a question, whether the president had authority to confine our inhabitants by a military guard, from instances which had really happened ; the drift therefore of lord Clive's assertion was obvious ; in this he was supported by general Carnac, who further added, that if it was thought I deserved it, he would not scruple to seize me with military guards, or words to that effect.,

His majesty's gracious charter to the company, the civil courts of justice, the court of oyer and terminer, and the authority of the king's judges and justices, seem by such declaration to be entirely put out of the question by these gentlemen. I tremble at the thought of being deprived of the indulgencies and privileges of our constitution ; and I call upon you, gentlemen, not only as a president and council, but as a bench of the king's justices, to consider the fatal tendency of such an assumed
 autho-

authority over the civil rights of his majesty's subjects. How much does it behove you to guard those blessed privileges from every innovation ! how jealous ought you to be of them, in a region so remote from our mother country ! when my station as a member of this government, my authority and quality as one of his majesty's judges and justices, protect me not from threats of military guards, what may not the inhabitants of a lower sphere live in dread of ? I appeal in the most solemn manner to you, gentlemen, as my fellow judges and justices, I call up you, to protect the rights and privileges of the subjects, to free them from all apprehension of a military power, I demand, that the assertion of this being a military government be publicly exploded : that the authority of his majesty's justices be acknowledged in the most ample form, superior to all military force : and that the guards be removed, by your orders, from the houses of our inhabitants : that not only I, but the whole settlement, may in confidence and safety attend the company's and our own concerns, and such others as are intrusted to our management. The inhabitants may justly be alarmed, and astonished at this unheard of assertion of a military power over a British colony, and have a right now to expect such a renunciation, to quiet, for the present, their apprehensions : nor considering myself as a justice, dare I seem by my silence to acquiesce in declarations so subversive of our laws and constitution, or expose myself to be insulted by hearing such threats at your board.

(Signed) Ralph Leycester.

Mr. Ley-

Mr. Leycester, in consequence of general Carnac's minutes, desires the following question may be put severally to the members who were present on the occasion,

Whether the assertions contained in his minute, concerning the general, are true or false.

The question were put accordingly.

"Mr. Gray, after having, at his request, been sworn to the truth of his answer, delivered as follows: That he remembered perfectly well, lord Clive's saying, this was a military as well as a civil government: that general Carnac supported the same, and after some arguments, which Mr. Gray does not particularly recollect, that the general actually did declare, that if he thought he deserved it, he would not scruple to seize even himself. Mr. Verelst declares, on lord Clive's observing, that this government was both a military as well as a civil government; the general joined in opinion, and supported the necessity of such mixt government in such a place as this is; though at the same time, he declared, he was well acquainted with the difference of each, and would support the civil, but there were many instances, where the military power was absolutely requisite; particularly in the immediate seizure of persons who might be guilty of atrocious crimes, to prevent their making their escape; that Mr. Leycester, differing in opinion, debates arose, when the general told him, that in such an instance before mentioned, he would not scruple to seize him. These, to the best of Mr. Verelst's knowledge, were the sentiments the general expressed himself in."

Lord

Lord Clive's minutes, that his sentiments of what passed correspond entirely with what Mr. Verelst has related ; but he does not recollect the particular words which passed previous to general Carnac's declaration.

These answers have been recorded, Mr. Leycester asked the secretary, whether he had attended to the discourse which passed on the occasion : and desired if he had, he might relate the same to the board. The board acquiescing in Mr. Leycester's desire, the secretary replied in the affirmative to his question ; but begged the permission of the board to prepare his relation against their next meeting in writing, that he might recollect himself particularly, and deliver it with more precision.

Mr. Gray delivers in the following reply to lord Clive's minute, entered on consultation the the 14th instant.

" Were we to found our opinion of his lordship's conduct from his declaration in his minute, it would appear all mildness, candour, and tenderness ; but when facts seem to contradict his professions, we are at a loss how to reconcile a system of behaviour which appears so opposite to the sentiments he breathes. A second time has his lordship now quoted the candid proceedings of the select committee, on a late occasion. I shall observe, once for all, that however his lordship may think me or others indebted to his mercy on that occasion, I do not in the least think myself, or them so. He would seem to insinuate, that an enquiry was disagreeable to himself, and that the relentless board, not satisfied with the former instance of moderation, now called upon him to perform the odious task

task of producing new matter, to prove the necessity of reformation. His lordship acknowledges it is an odious task ; it only requires to be known, whether his lordship himself, or who else was the occasion of this enquiry, to find where the odium rests. For my own part, I will declare my reasons for demanding it, and now aver to this board, that before his lordship's arrival from Illâhabad, I was informed he was collecting accusations against me, up the country ; and I heard, he gave out, I had committed extortions, that if known, would shock the ears of the world. I heard it was his intention to reserve the subject of these complaints as a check on my opinion, whenever I should dare to differ from him ; and after his arrival, I was informed, that the search for information was still rigorously carried on at the city. Reports of this nature could not fail to give me concern ; still I waited with patience above a fortnight after his return, expecting he would himself communicate to me what was now become the topic of conversation, and subject of correspondence to the whole settlement. But finding his lordship decline to afford me room for explanation, I was under necessity of demanding it in public ; more especially as a ship was on the eve of dispatch to Europe, where reports to my prejudice might be carried unconfuted. Whether his lordship acted on that occasion, a generous open part, or the reverse ; and whether the steps he has pursued since, in scraping together informations and accusations from the meanest agents in detraction, are consistent with his profession of candour and moderation, I leave to the world to judge ? In one once circumstance, at least, he seems to deviate

ate from consistency; had he been guided by the dictates of humanity, as he professes, why did he divulge those charges by insinuations to others, as matters of fact; or had he been desirous of seeing them accommodated, without being driven to the necessity of laying them before the board, how came he not to inform me privately, and allow me an opportunity of an explanation with him? The odious light in which his lordship has endeavoured to set forth the scheme I had proposed for the relief of the prostitutes of the town, as an instance of his counteracting the design of oppression, is an earnest of the candour I have to expect from him. If a transaction upon the spot, under the eyes of the council, and before the public, where the facts might soon be proved or disproved, is so misrepresented, what justice have I to expect in the course of those other researches made by his lordship's industry, in a remote district, and among a set of people whose opinion are guided by their interests, and their declarations prompted by their hope and fears.

Though the approbation of a man's own conscience may render him satisfied with his own principles, yet we need not go far to seek for proof, that it is but little defence against the keen malevolence of slander and detraction, when supported by power and influence; and from what quarter the shafts of calumny are sped, or ambitious resentment flows, the impartial may decide. As to lord Clive's third minute, where he has snatched up the expression, that I should not have thought it wrong to receive the money offered by the prostitutes on my account; I shall only observe, that
when

when setting aside facts, he is reduced to the necessity of seizing words for his own purposes, his argument must be greatly degraded in his own opinion. My real meaning was, that as this money was a voluntary present, I should not have been obnoxious to the imputation of exaction, had I even received it on my own account. But it implies not that I would benefit by so mean an offer; my conduct is proof to the contrary; and as I had rectified and explained myself to lord Clive, before he entered his minute, he had no right to take such an unfair advantage; however, I confess, I do not regret the mistake of an expression, which has given his lordship an opportunity of displaying his method of argumentation. At the same time, as his lordship seems desirous to undervalue and preclude every circumstance in my favour, I think the attestations so much the more necessary; and therefore I desire that those who were present in the cutcherry, when I first took charge of the collectorship, and other gentlemen whom I call on, as being acquainted with my intentions, may appear, to declare upon oath, what they know of this affair. His lordship advances the necessity of a thorough reformation, his favourite theme. As it is one of the pillars on which he expects to raise his character, and to acquire eclat, it were to be wished he would go on with his regulations, without injuring the character of those who preceded him in the administration; and content himself with the assurance, that if his measures are preferable to theirs, they will sufficiently distinguish themselves, when he throws reflections on former governments, he should

should consider what abuses might have existed formerly during his own ; especially the frauds in the new works ; which, though they escaped his observation, did not that of his vigilant successor ; Mr. Holwell, who by his diligence brought them to light, yet had too much generosity to cast an odium on a former administration, to draw from thence any arguments for the necessity of a thorough reformation.

His lordship's principal aim seems to be levelled against receiving presents from the people of the government. I for my part, have never concealed from my friends, advantages which my station has offered me in this respect, before the execution of the covenants ; but I totally disclaim and disavow ever having made use of improper means, or undue influence, to acquire such advantages, or having received them for dishonourable ends. If my servants have been guilty, it was without my knowledge or consent, and let them be called to a fair and impartial trial. I do not make this declaration in any degree as a confession of any charges lord Clive has to produce : but I claim from it an occasion, since retrospects are begun and admitted, to state to lord Clive some doubts which have arisen to me, as they may probably, to many others, touching his conduct : which I shall be happy in affording his lordship an opportunity of clearing up, to the satisfaction of the world. For this purpose, I propose to him the following queries

1st. What was the purport and meaning of the fictitious treaty, signed by the select committee in May 1757, by his lordship's desire ; and wherein did it differ from the real one, signed at the same time ?

K 2

2nd. What

2nd. Whether the intent* of this treaty was not to deceive Omichund ?

3d. Whether Omichund was not, by this deception, deprived of a large sum of money, from twenty-five to thirty-five lacks of rupees, which he had been promised, and made to expect ?

4th. Whether that, or some such sum, was not stipulated before the accession of Meer Jassier, and afterwards divided amongst sundry gentlemen ?

5th. Whether lord Clive, then colonel Clive, had not a principal share in such distribution ?

6th. Whether admiral Watson did not refuse to sign this fictitious treaty deeming it derogatory from his own character as a British officer ? and whether notwithstanding this refusal, his name did not afterwards appear affixed to this treaty ?

7th. Whether the argument for excluding admiral Watson from a share of the sum was not, that he refused to put his hand to this fictitious treaty ?

8th. Whether it is not for a share of this sum stipulated with Meer Jassier before the battle of Plassey, that the heirs of admiral Watson are now prosecuting ?

9th. Whether, it was adviseable, for public considerations, to deceive Omichund, or though he had rendered himself unworthy of so large a reward ; whether, I ask, was it becoming in lord, then colonel Clive, to receive a large proportion of such a sum for his own use, instead of appropriating it to the public service ; or by remitting it altogether to Meer Jassier, coable him the sooner to discharge his public engagements to the English ?

(Signed) George Gray."

The

The foregoing minute having been perused, and lord Clive proceeding to lay before the board a part of his charges against Mr. Gray, agreeably to the purpose of their present meeting; Mr. Gray, upon a declaration made by his lordship in the course of some previous conversation, entered the following farther minute :

“ Previous to an enquiry, I must represent to the board, that as lord Clive has now declared before them, that he is determined to collect every information and evidence against me which he can, I consider him as an accuser, or at least himself an evidence ; and therefore I object against his sitting in judgment on my conduct. Lord Clive replies, that he was disposed, for motives of humanity, to conceal many charges which have been communicated to him against Mr. Gray ; but as he seems not satisfied with this, but has publicly demanded their being laid before the board, his lordship thinks, that justice should now take place of humanity, and that it is his duty, as governor, to lay before the board every circumstance whatever which may come to his knowledge, and that he shall do it accordingly.”

Extract from the proceedings of the president and council at Calcutta, on the 28th October 1765.

“ General Carnac desires to enter the following attestation, on the subject of the debate which occurred at the consultation of the 14th instant, referred to in his and Mr. I eycester’s minutes, entered on the proceedings of the 18th. I do solemnly swear, that I never had an idea of setting this up

as a military government, being too well acquainted with the blessings of our civil constitution ever to wish to see a military government established upon its ruins. In the debate which happened at the consultation of the 14th instant, and which owes it's rite to a question, whether the president was authorised to place scapoys over Remnaut, or not, as is falsely asserted in Mr Leycester's minute, whether the president had authority to confine our inhabitants by military guards, I declare upon oath, to the best of my recollection, the following was the purport of the conversation between Mr Leycester and me. I observed there were emergencies which rendered next to absolute necessity the having recourse at times to military force, and particularly instanced the case of notorious offenders, who were endeavouring to, and might otherwise evade public justice, under which circumstance, I asserted, I would myself execute military power. Mr Leycester then said repeatedly, he wished I would do so by him. Being before warm with argument, and by his behaviour rendered more so, I replied with heat, that were even he in such a case, I would be the first at the head of a party of scapoys."

And the general was accordingly sworn to the same.

Lord Clive also delivers in, upon oath, the following declaration on the subject. "Some debates arising relative to the confinement of Remnaut, wherein the president observed there was a mixed government, a military as well as civil government, I do most solemnly swear, to the best of my memory and judgment, that the general expressed
himself

himself in the following manner, or words to that purpose."

"The general declared that he knew the difference between the military and civil power, and that he would always support the latter; but there were cases of emergency, where notorious offenders wanted to escape from justice, when he would make use of military guards to seize such:" upon which Mr. Leycester replied, "he should not, or dared not to take him up." The general answered, "in such an instance, he himself would go at the head of six sea-poys, and seize him by the collar, and drag him to justice. Both the general and Mr. Leycester expressed themselves with great warmth." And Mr. Verelst, at his desire, was sworn to the truth of his relation on the subject entered on the said consultation of the 18th inst.

These attestations having been taken, Mr. Leycester requests the secretary may be called upon for his evidence of what passed, which he before desired might appear. But the general desires previously to put the following questions to Mr. Majendie, and that he will reply to them on oath.

Question the first.

Whether he was not at the time of the debate actually employed in writing?

Question the second.

If he heard the whole of the conversation between Mr. Leycester and the general, on the subject of the constitution of this government; and if he can, upon oath, declare the particular expressions made use of by either of them? And the questions being therefore put accordingly, Mr. Majendie replied to them on oath, as follows:

To the first, that he was partly engaged in writing at the time of the debate, but that his attention was very much so with what passed on the occasion.

In answer to the second question, Mr. Majendie begs to refer to his relation, which he mentions he has prepared on the best of his recollection, in the same manner as the gentlemen of the board have delivered in their attestations, and contains the impartial whole, so far as appeared to him necessary to be noticed. He adds, that he cannot venture positively to declare, that no particular expressions escaped him, but is ready to answer any questions which may be put to him, to determine this point.

Mr. Majendie's relation being then required, he first submitted to the board, the following minute which he brought prepared with it.

Considering my junior rank in the service, together with the office which I have the honour to hold in it, of secretary to this council, I could wish, upon so particular an occasion, as I have been called upon for my evidence, at last Friday's council, to be wholly excused from entering any ; but if the honourable board should still think proper to have it appear, I hope they will, for those reasons, allow me the satisfaction of doing it only on oath.

(Signed) William Majendie.

And the board esteeming his representation therein very just, he was accordingly sworn to the truth of his evidence, as follows :

" To the best of my recollection, what passed in the debate which arose at the consultation of the

14th inst touching the propriety of lord Clive's seizure and confinement of Mr. Gray's servant, Remnant, with a guard of seapoys, is as follows: His lordship, in support of that proceeding, urged, that this was a military as well as civil government; and general Carnac joined him in the argument in the same terms, explaining himself, by alledging, that there were many cases in which the use of military force here was absolutely requisite, preferably to the civil; such, for instance, as the immediate seizure of persons, upon the imputation or suspicion of villainous actions, to prevent their escape, which could not surely be effected with the few civil officers we entertain. This Mr. Leycester strongly denied, and objected to, asserting, that our civil power was fully sufficient to apprehend any person, and prevent his escape, and could with equal expedition, that no military force should ever be used, unless called upon by the civil magistrate; that if any such should attempt the seizure of a servant of his, or any other person, without that authority, he would, in virtue of his quality and office, as one of his majesty's justices of the peace, of which he should consider such proceedings as an open violation, immediately commit the person or persons employed on the occasion. Hereupon the general repeated the necessity for the use of a military force in some cases, and Mr. Leycester still arguing against it, the general told him, he would not only seize his servants or others in that manner, but himself, if thought he deserved it.

(Signed) William Majendie, Sec."

Lord

Lord Clive now puts the following question to Mr. Leycester, requiring his answer thereto, on oath: whether the whole of the conversation which passed between general Carnac and him on the subject of the constitution of this government, is contained in his minute on the subject?

To which Mr. Leycester replies, upon oath, accordingly, that the minute contains such part of the conversation as occurred to him at the time he wrote it, and that, upon the attestations now delivered in, he recollects some circumstances which had before entirely escaped him.

His lordship further asks Mr. Leycester, whether he has not communicated the contents of his minute to some others beside the members of the board?

And Mr. Leycester answers thereto in the affirmative.

Lord Clive now enters the following minute, in reply to Mr. Gray's late questions, put to him; and his, and Mr. Leycester's minutes.

Lord Clive's minute.

"Although I did not think myself obliged to answer any of Mr. Gray's questions, nor imagine that, were they answered agreeably to his expectations, they would in the least exculpate him, if the facts with which he and his agents are charged should be fully proved; yet as Mr. Gray may hope that my answers will be of service to his cause, I shall, with great pleasure, indulge him with particular answers to the several questions he has put to me in his minute of the 14th and 18th instant.

Answer

* Answer to the first In answer to his first query, I declare, that I have had in my possession for upwards of two months, sundry authentic papers, accusing Mr. Gray and his gomastahs of having received several sums of money by extortion and other methods, which papers I shall lay before the board for their more particular information And I do further declare, that it was not my intention to make any use of these papers against Mr Gray, unless I had found him still persevere in the practice of unwarrantable means to obtain money, or unless he had called upon me in the manner he has done, by his minute of the 25th September, 1765.

Answer to the second I do declare, upon my honour, that I never authorized any person whomsoever to demand, by threats of guards or punishment, any of Mr Gray's private letters, or papers, or accounts, touching his fortune and connections Answer to the third I have placed military guards upon two men only The evidence upon oath before the board, as well as before the committee will convince the court of directors of the necessity of securing one of them, the other Remnant, now confined, is under charge of being a most notorious offender He is accused of facts which, if proved true, must condemn him to every exemplary punishment, and he was confined to his house by a guard, upon intelligence I received, that he was going to fly the country That I have placed a military guard upon any one since Mr Gray called upon me to produce evidences against him is utterly false Answer to the fourth I did write a perambulation to Bolikvists, in answer to a letter from him the beginning of July last, but

L I

who

when I heard, from Juggeseat, what an enemy he had been to their fathers, I forbid him to come in to my presence, and upon my arrival ordered him to quit Calcutta; but upon Mr. Gray's minute, I ordered Bolakydass back again, to give the evidence I had before been informed of concerning Remnaut's conduct, in which Mr. Gray seems to be strongly interested; and I shall certainly not decline to receive complaints of such grievances as affect the honour or advantage of the company; nor will there be any occasion, as Mr. Gray alleges there will, to make use of force or threats to obtain them. With regard to harpies and spies being employed to seize Bolakydass, when he quitted Calcutta, I never knew nor heard of any. I have given Bolakydass no encouragement, so far from it, I have told him, that when he was given his evidence upon oath, he must not expect the liberty of residing in Calcutta.

As to the last query, it will be time enough to answer it when Mr. Gray gives me the name of his authors.

I now proceed to trouble you with remarks upon and answers to some other queries contained in Mr. Gray's minute of the 14th instant, which are intended as a severe attack upon my honour, and therefore require particular attention. And though I flatter myself that my character stands too high in the opinion of mankind to be wounded by such an accuser, or by such accusations, yet it may not be improper for me to shew, that Mr. Gray's insinuations are most of them void of all foundation, and that even those which have a foundation, are most basely injuriously stated.

In the minute before us, Mr. Gray recurs to my former administration in the year 1757, and accuses me of neglect at that time, in not discovering certain frauds in the new works. Mr Gray was asked, whether by mentioning that circumstance he meant to insinuate that I had been any ways concerned in those frauds, and he declared he did not; Mr Gray dares not declare otherwise and yet one would imagine such an insinuation was intended, for the gentlemen could not mean seriously to accuse me of neglect, in not laying before the council those frauds which never came to my ears or knowledge. Of a nature equally false and malicious is the purport of his queries concerning the fictitious treaty, in May 1757, to which I return the following answer. When Mr Watts's negotiation at Murshedabad with Meer Jaffer and Roy Doolub, was brought so near to a conclusion, that the treaty itself was drawn out, wherein it was specified, that a hundred lacks should be paid to the company, fifty lacks to the European sufferers, twenty lacks to the natives, and seven lacks to the Armenians, Portuguese, &c. Omichund, who had accompanied Mr. Watts to the city, was so far from being satisfied with what was to fall to his share, that he declared, unless a very large sum, to the best of my remembrance it was not less than fifty lacks, was stipulated for himself in particular, and unless he should also be allowed five per cent. on all Surajah Dowlah's treasure, he would divulge the secrets of the whole negotiation. These circumstances Mr Watts immediately communicated to me, expressing the most dreadful apprehensions of the consequences, and intreating me to get Omichund

chund down to Calcutta, and satisfy him, or should all be undone. When I considered, that the lives of so many British subjects were concerned in the event of this affair, as well as that the whole of the possessions of the company and of individuals was at stake, I did not hesitate a moment to determine upon a scheme that should secure the success of our plan, and at the same time disappoint the expectations of so treacherous a villain; for these purposes I myself proposed there should be two treaties, a real one, and a fictitious one: the latter I intended merely as a deception to Omichund. This proposal was unanimously approved by the gentlemen of the select committee; and were we again in the like circumstances, I should most certainly think myself authorized to act in the same manner. That Mr. Watson did not sign the fictitious treaty is matter of fact; but I can with the greatest truth at the same time affirm, that he gave another gentleman leave to sign it for him, and to affix his seal. With regard to these questions, whether the sum stipulated in the fictitious treaty for Omichund was not struck off on purpose to be afterwards divided among sundry gentlemen, and whether I had not a principal share in such distribution, they have not the least foundation in truth. I do declare upon my honour, I never did stipulate with Meer Jaffer, or any other person, directly or indirectly, either before or after the battle of Plassey, for any sum or sums of money whatever, (the committee money excepted.) The gentlemen of the committee empowered me to write to Mr. Watts upon the subject of that money; at the same time he was ordered to stipulate for a donation for the navy

navy and army. This transaction has been approved of by the court of directors under their own hands. The heirs of admiral Watson are now suing for the money mentioned by Mr. Gray ; they are suing for a share of the committee's money, and no other : nor was such an agreement as mentioned in Mr. Gray's seventh query ever made or thought of by any gentlemen to my knowledge.

The whole string of queries having been formed by Mr. Gray upon a supposition that the money stipulated for Omichund, in the fictitious treaty, was received and divided among English gentlemen ; which supposition being absolutely false, I conclude, no farther reply to them is necessary.

I shall now proceed to take notice of the general tendency of Mr. Gray's and Mr. Leicester's minute jointly : they are at great pains to insinuate, that I have infringed the liberty of the subject by the exertion of military force, and that I am endeavouring to subvert the laws and rights of our civil constitution ; I beg leave to trouble you with my sentiments on these subjects ; and shall submit to your judgment, whether my proceedings have been arbitrary, oppressive, or unprecedented.

As I am not a very young servant of the company, and have been twice honoured with the presidency of this settlement, think I may without vanity presume, that my knowledge is not inferior to Mr. Gray's or Mr. Leicester's in the power and duties of a governor. The respect I have for the laws of my country will always prevent my exercising a military force to apprehend any British subject, unless in cases of a very heinous nature, and when the offender might otherwise escape from
the

the justice of a civil power, to whom he must of course be given up.

But with regard to the natives of India. I cannot consider them as British subjects: and the court of directors have cautioned us against putting our laws in execution on them. Were we to consider them as British subjects, our political government would be at an end. The power of the governor and council would be transferred to the mayor's court, and with it the whole authority of the company, as if the charter for the establishment of that court had been obtained to make the mayor and aldermen masters over the company. Besides, were the natives within our districts to be, on every occasion, prosecuted by the laws of our country, the Inns of court would hardly be able to supply us with a sufficient number of lawyers; and the objection would nevertheless remain, that if the Indians will not of their own accord comply with the forms of the laws of England, we have no right to compel them: for what they have said, is true, that no prince has power or authority over the subjects of another prince, unless it be by their residing in his dominions, or by voluntary concession, consent, &c. and there are undoubtedly instances where the company's servants could not justify themselves, if they were to admit the natives to the benefit of our laws, even at their own request. The company's advantages and possessions in India are maintained by the civil joined with the military power. The administration of their settlements, so far as respects the subject of Great Britain, is purely civil; except in such cases as come particularly under the cognizance of martial law; but the civil
 : admi-

administration has a right to command assistance of the military, in securing offenders. This is allowed of by the laws of England, and is frequently practised though the two powers there are rather more distinct than in India. Here the civil governor has a commission, as a commander in chief of the forces, and as such hath power in himself to exercise a military authority in support of the civil. This is an institution founded on a very wise and evident reason, for as the governor must always have the earliest intelligence of matters relating to his government, and of importance to the public interest, it is necessary he should be invested with the power of providing instantly for the security of the state, nor can that power be very dangerous to the liberty of the subject, where military discipline is regulated upon the model of civil administration *

But we are not to imagine, that criminal actions alone endanger our principle of government. It is endangered by licentiousness, extortion, venality, by whatever eludes, though it may not openly violate, by whatever tends to weaken, though it may not totally subvert the laws. These among numberless other cases, fall immediately under the observation of a governor, and it is his duty to endeavour to eradicate them, with every exemplary severity

* When lord Clive's right to the jaguer was disputed by the company, his lordship assigned as reasons for not pursuing his remedy in the mayor's court. That the judge were dependants upon the company, that the appeal lay to their president and council, and that even the person employed on his behalf must be dependant on the company.

verity, when occasion demands it. If in the execution of his office he is guilty of oppression towards any of his majesty's subjects, an act of parliament points out a legal mode of redress. If his oppression fall upon a subject of the country government, he is still amenable to justice. In any trifling causes especially, against a British subject, a governor will act merely as a justice of the peace; but in cases which affect the company's affairs, in case of a villainous nature between man and man, particularly extortions which too often happens among the natives of this despotic empire, whether supported or not by us. in cases where the temper, the moderation, the justice of the company's government is concerned: in cases of such a nature, I say, a governor will act not only as justice of the peace, but as governor; he will, not only as a magistrate commit to confinement, but will, if he judge necessary; as commander in chief of the forces, assume his military power, to prevent the offenders escape. If the description I have given of the duty and authority of a governor, be a just one, the point before us requires no farther argument; and it will be a sufficient answer to Mr. Gray's question, whether I being a justice of the peace, having not a placed military guard over inhabitants of this settlement, to observe, that being a justice of the peace, did not, but that I, being a governor, did place military guards over Mooteram and Rembaut, neither of them inhabitants of this settlement. Were I, however inclined to rest the decision where I should perhaps be justified in resting it; upon the practice of former governors, I could produce to

this

this board a list of no less than two-and-thirty precedents of black men, some of whom were counsellors, banyans, being confined for months together under military guards, by order of my predecessors, within these fourteen years past ; and most of these precedents relate actually to inhabitants of Calcutta, whereas the case before us does not. Remnaut is an inhabitant of Maldah, two hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta ; his house, his family, are these, and he is only a sojourner at this settlement ; an agent for the business of extortion, in which Mr. Gray and Leycester seem vexed to find him detected ; for, whether it be the man or his crimes they mean to defend, is hard to distinguish. To assert from the case of Remnaut, that I am attempting to establish a military government, and to subvert the laws of my country, is unjust and absurd to the highest degree. Mr. Leycester's minute upon the occasion, is so extravagantly romantic and declamatory, that I shall here take little notice of it, excepting as to the falsity of its foundation, viz. That a debate arose on a question, whether the president had the authority to confine our inhabitants by military guards from instances which had really happened. I appeal to every gentleman then at the board, whether such a question did arise, or whether such instances happened ? To a new reader Mr. Leycester's minute might perhaps convey a notion that I had made a general seizure of all the European inhabitants of Calcutta, set guards upon their houses, and intended to draw the sword against every assertor of law and liberty. A single person, a black man, accused of a heinous crime, meditating an escape from justice, is confined to his house

a few seapoys according to the usual custom ; and upon this circumstance alone, Mr. Leycester like a true leader of party, thinks it incumbent on him to stand forth the champion of his injured country ; declaims upon the British constitution, civil rights, military force, arbitrary power, and the liberty of the subject. I demand, says he, that the guards be removed from the houses of the inhabitants, that not only I, but the whole settlement may in confidence and safety attend the company's and our own concerns. In a London news-paper such an harangue might serve to alarm weak minds, and draw recruits to the standard of faction ; but on the face of our consultations where truth and facts are conspicuous, it must appear a falsehood of the most dangerous tendency, and calculated to answer the worst of purposes. I therefore desire the following question may be put to this board :

Whether any of the debates which passed at this board, on Monday the 14th instant, relative to the constitution of this government, and particularly, whether any expressions that fell from the president, on that subject, could give the least ground for suspecting that a military power was going to be set up in opposition to the civil administration of this settlement ?

(Signed) Clive."

The question proposed at the conclusion of his lordship's minute, being put accordingly to the several members.

" Mr. Gray declares, in answer ; yes, for that if he had not thought what passed at the board gave ground

ground for such suspicion, he should not have thought it worth notice."

Mr. Leycester replies, that the expression which fell from the president, on the occasion, gave him room to suspect, that he was intending to set up a military power very inconsistent with our civil jurisdiction.

Mr. Verelst thinks there was no reason for such opinion. The general thinks the same, and that the entertaining such was highly injurious to his lordship. Mr. Sumner, not having been present when the debate occurred, can give no reply to this question. And those answers of the other members having been therefore taken, the general desires the same question may be repeated on his behalf, to them and his lordship. "The other members reply severally in the same terms as before, and his lordship as follows: That he cannot doubt it, after the declarations the general has made; and he has moreover authority to say, that he has many times heard the general express sentiments much the reverse. Mr. Verelst upon the foregoing proceedings, proposes to the board the following questions, and requests their sentiments in answer.

Whether it does not appear to them, that Mr. Leycester was the author and propagator of the injurious report spread through the settlement; that a military power was going to be set up, in opposition to the civil administration?

Mr. Gray refers to Mr. Leycester's avowal, but cannot say whether he was the first propagator: Mr. Verelst thinks he was so, from his own confession. The general does the same. Mr. Sumner requests

requests the answers of the other members to the following question, before he can reply to the one proposed by Mr. Verell :

Whether none of them mentioned what passed at the board after the council, to others besides the members of the board ?

Mr. Gray replies, that he did, and the expressions which he recollect to have passed, when compared with circumstances and facts which had at that time happened, appeared to him of such a nature, that he thought himself under a necessity of asking the opinion of others what stress, or weight should be laid upon them ; at the same time, if by the injurious reports mentioned in Mr. Verell's questions, are meant aggravations beyond what is set forth in Mr. Leicester's minute, on the subject of the debate, and what Mr. Gray has himself declared upon oath, he denies ever having propagated such.

The general and Lord Clive declare, that they never mentioned the circumstance, except when they were obliged to it, in justification to themselves, upon the reports being communicated to them. Mr. Sumner now observes, in reply to Mr. Verell's question, that upon Mr. Gray's declaration it appears to him, the circumstances have been mentioned by him as well as by Mr. Leicester.

Lord Clive thinks Mr. Leicester was the author and propagator of the report in the question.

Mr. Leicester, upon the declarations and opinions given by his lordship, desires to ask him.

Whether he does not recollect mentioning in company the proceedings and resolutions of the select committee, that have not yet been made known to

the board. His lordship denying his having done so, Mr. Leycester declares, that he has himself heard him make mention of them, and is ready to attest the same upon oath, and lord Clive's minutes, in reply to this declaration, That to the best of his recollection, he never did make mention of the proceeding of the committee, as Mr. Leycester asserts; but that it is very possible he has, as he may not always have been so much upon his guard, but that at times, expressions may have slipped from him, to give an insight into them? His lordship now desires Mr. Leycester may withdraw, having something to propose to the board concerning him, at which it is not proper he should be present: and Mr. Leycester retires accordingly, minuting, That he shall give in reply to these proceedings, at the next meeting of the board.

Mr. Leycester being withdrawn, his lordship lays before the board the following resolution for his suspension: 'Mr. Leycester, a member of this board, having industriously propagated a report, that a military power was going to be set up, in opposition to the civil administration of this settlement?

Resolved, That the said report is a most gross and scandalous falsehood, tending to excite discontent, to promote faction, to alarm the minds of the inhabitants, and to introduce confusion in the company's affairs: That Mr. Leycester, in propagating the said report, is guilty of unfaithfulness to the duty of the service, and a breach of that trust and confidence reposed in him by his employers; who expect from all their servants a strict attention to the happiness, unanimity, and harmony of the settle-

settlement; that he is therefore unworthy of any station in the company's service, and that he is accordingly suspended, until the pleasure of the court of directors be known.

Mr. Gray enters his dissent to the resolution, as follows.

I dissent from the resolution of the president, as Mr. Leicester has not had an opportunity to answer what has this day passed; which before he withdrew he intimated to the secretary, it was his intention to do: and further, Lord Clive, as well as general Carnac, having declared themselves injured by that gentleman's conduct, I considered them as parties in the debate, and think they cannot with propriety have a vote.

The amount of my reasons for this dissent therefore is, "That Mr. Leicester is about to be judged by his accusers, and judged unheard: I shall deliver in my sentiments more at large hereafter. Mr. Verelst and the general approved of the resolution in the following minutes."

Mr. Verelst's.

Mr. Verelst is sorry he is obliged to concur in the resolution proposed by his lordship, but Mr. Leicester's conduct, in so industriously propagating an assertion false in itself, and injurious to this government, is such, that he thinks he should be deficient in his duty to his employers, was he not to join in shewing a necessary resentment on the occasion, and therefore he assents to the resolution proposed.

The General's.

The minute given in by Mr. Leicester, and his having industriously propagated the same through the

the settlement to inflame the minds of the inhabitants, is such an indignity upon the government, that the general should think himself highly deficient in the duty he owes thereunto, did he not concur in the resolution offered by his lordship.

Mr. Gray lays before the board the following defence to such part of his lordship's charges, and the proceedings thereon, as have already appeared.

It was not my intention to have answered to any of the charges brought against me untill the whole should be finished; but as there is a pause at present in the enquiries, I shall now reply to what has been hitherto brought forth; and for this purpose I think it will be the easiest and shortest way of obviating the insinuations to my prejudice; to give a faithful account of my conduct on the occasion, where I am now accused before the board, without giving either the board or myself the trouble of animadverting on the informations of persons brought as evidence.

Ist. Touching the suspicion lord Clive has pleased to set forth, concerning the present the Nabob gave me after his succession to the subahdary; and the reason for it is well known, that my motive for going to the city was to meet general Carnac on his way to the army; and the desire of seeing major Munro, on his return from the army, detained me there. The old nabob in the interim was dangerously ill when these two gentlemen left the city, and proposed to return to Meldah; but Mr. Middleton, then resident at the Durbar, requested I would stay with him for some time, till the nabob's illness should come to a crisis; and in compliance with his request, I did stay about two or three days after

after the general left the city, the old nabob apprehending his end approached, gave his eldest son, Nujam al Dowlah, a Khelaat to transact the business of the subahdary, and circulatory letters were sent to all the officers of the government to obey him, which is the common way of declaring the successor. Mr. Middleton informed the presidency of this event, and of the nabob's dangerous state, and he received orders to support the nabob's family, he believed without the smallest doubt, it was the intention of the board, that Nassim al Dowlah, the nabob's eldest son and his declared heir, should succeed in case of the nabob's death, and he asked my opinion, which concurred with his. No instructions, advices or hints ever gave him reason to suspect the contrary, and had other plans been formed, it should have been communicated to him, since the nabob's danger was well known. Accordingly when the old nabob expired, and the officers of the government were about to proclaim the young nabob, and desired Mr Middleton to attend the ceremony, that gentleman thought he could not properly give his refusal, which might be attended with very bad consequences. Mr Middleton desired me, and other gentlemen, to accompany him, and in compliance with his request, we went along with him to the Kella. I must observe here, that being but a private visitor with Mr Middleton, and only giving my opinion when asked, no part of the merit due to Mr Middleton in this transaction would come to my share, and that gentleman had the pleasure of finding his conduct approved of by the board, which I think should have prevented any suspicion

or enquiry on this occasion. Some days after the young Nabob's appearance in public I was offered a present, as a consideration for my expences from Maldah, which I at first declined, from an apprehension my acceptance might afford malice a pretence against me. But it was alledged, my refusal would make the Nabob uneasy, who would think I was his enemy; and that it would seem as if I was affronted at the smallness of the offer. And I declare it was not till after this remonstrance that I consented to receive it. I desired captain Stables may be called upon to attest what he knows of this affair.

Balakydass who had been a banker, or shroff to Meer Cassim, and was carried up by him in his retreat, after suffering many hardships both from Meer Cassim and Sujah al Dowlah, at last absconded lest he should be seized and plundered by the officers of the Nabob's government; I thought his case particularly hard, that in his mercantile capacity he should be deprived of the benefit of our protection. He had sent down one Shemball in order to solicit leave for him to return to Bengal, after his agent had set forth Balakydass's deplorable state, I informed Mr. Spencer then governor, of what I had heard; and he concurring with me in opinion, that it would be beneficial to the country, to give Balakydass and every other merchant in the same circumstances, encouragement to re-settle in these provinces, from a motive of real humanity, as well as from a political view, that gentlemen granted him a perwannah to return.

I sent the perwannah and a letter of my own with Shemball, who was the only person acquainted with the place of Balakydass's retreat. They returned both, and Balakydass expressed very great satis-

faction in the protection and favour he had received, and some time after he offered me a present, which I had no intention to accept.

Balakydais had also obtained a perwannah from lord Clive, this was a sufficient sanction for him to remain at Calcutta in safety. He accordingly lived in the place openly, and made an application to the board for payment of a sum of money borrowed from him at Ducca, and no objections were ever started to his residing at Calcutta, until the return of lord Clive, who, notwithstanding the circumstance of his own perwannah and Balakydais's application to the board, sent his chuldar with orders to turn him out of our settlement and protection. He had lent no less than 230,000 rupees to the company in their distress in 1763, not being able to obtain justice in Bengal, he was reduced to the necessity of sending an agent to England to solicit payment from the directors, who at last gave orders to their president and council to pay off his demand. Balakydais in the utmost distress and apprehension, should he fall into the hands of Mahomed Reza Khawn his mortal enemy, sent to inform me of his situation, and begged I would save his life and honour. I was shocked at this transaction, and sympathising with the distresses of a man to whom I had promised assistance, I thought it my duty to give him shelter in one of the pergunnah's under my charge. He remained in his retreat, till after I had desired lord Clive to lay before the board the informations he had received touching my conduct, when his lordship, in diligent search for charges against me, having discovered Balakydais's retreat, sent for him to town,

received

received him into favour, and demanded a relation from him of all that had passed between him and me.

When Shemball mentioned the great obligation Balakydass would lay under to me, if I could assist him, and that he would not fail to acknowledge it by a considerable present, I answered it is very well; I shall be glad effectually to assist Balakydass, and then it will be time enough to think of a present. But this never implied a bargain for myself; and my subsequent refusal of an offer actually tendered me by Balakydass himself, should put the matter beyond a doubt.

I have been informed lord Clive makes a practice of feeding for people produced as evidence against me, and that his lordship holds private conversations with them touching their informations. As it is publicly known that lord Clive bears a professed resentment against me, it is inconsistent with candour and justice that his lordship, with the power he is vested with, should carry on such secret correspondence. The sole business of these evidences before lord Clive is to accuse, and the hopes of his lordship's favour, or the fear of his resentment byass their declarations.

Such avowed encouragement did lord Clive give to informers, that he espoused publicly the cause of one Benodram, a notorious informer, and an infamous villain. Lord Clive finding him useful in his inquiries, used all his power and influence over the Gentoo inhabitants, to procure his re-admission into his sect, of which he had been deprived, and excluded in consequence from the society of those

of his own religion. His lordship's mandate was incompatible with their tenets, as an odious authority over the consequences of a sect and nation entitled to our regard and protection. An attempt of so extraordinary a nature caused the English name to be held in the utmost abhorrence and detestation by all the Gentoo tribes in Indostan; and the character of the person in whose favour they unprecedented sketch of authority had been exercised must add contempt to hatred. This Bandaram in whose favour, and for whose benefit, lord Clive had usurped such a power over mens conscience, had been whipt at Calcutta for notorious frauds, by an order of the president and council; a most worthy object of his lordship's protection.

Mr. Gray's minute touching the conduct of lord Clive, general, Carnae and Mr. Verelst, towards himself and Mr. Leicester.

“ Lord Clive's conduct towards some members of this board has been so extraordinary of late, that every one must be alarmed, at the prospect of ill consequences, that seem to threaten those who entertain any opinion different from his, or who dare to avow such sentiments. The bad effects such a tenor of conduct must have upon a board where opinions ought to be free, and unguarded by impressions of awe, or the allurements of favour and partiality is obvious. Freedom of sentiment once destroyed, that body which ought to consult together, becomes nothing more than the mere approvers and abettors of what ever an arbitrary president may be pleased to dictate them.

When from the noble president's expressions, it was suspected that a military power was to be set

set up, in opposition to the civil administration of this settlement, lord Clive and general Carnac never contradicted this opinion; on the contrary his lordship declared this to be a military as well as a civil government, and the general supported this declaration, adding, that he would not scruple to serve Mr. Leycester so, if he thought he desired it. Mr. Leycester and myself hear felt the principal violence of his lordship's implacable resentment, by the suspension of one and the persecution of the other; the declarations of the noble president and the general were corroborated by real facts, such as the seizure by military guards and detention of Mooteram, a servant of Mr. Johnstone's, the seizure and detention of Rempant, a servant of mine; his lordship's public avowal of his intention to use military force over Mr. Peacock; these violent and arbitrary proceedings clearly prove that his lordship intended to assume a military authority over the inhabitants, in virtue of which he might seize the servant of any person, that was become obnoxious to him.

Mr. Leycester's abilities, integrity and attention to the company's interest were universally known. He was wantonly sacrificed to the noble governor's ambitious desire of ruling without controul. The arbitrary suspension of this valuable member of the board was carried by a majority of three against two, of the three lord Clive and general Carnac was parties concerned, and revenging their own cause; the third member Mr. Verelst, shewed by his concurrence to this iniquitous suspension, his servile tenets of passive obedience; the hasty advantage they took of this occasional majority

rity, shews they were conscious, such a violent
 procedure could not have been adopted by a few
 and impartial board. As Mr. Burdett, another
 victim devoted to Lord Clive's destruction, justly
 observed, his lordship was determined to oblige every
 one to quit the service, who dared to differ from
 him in opinion. I am now, says Mr. Gray, the
 only member remaining at the board, who joined
 Mr. Burdett, on the occasion of his dispute with
 lord Clive, and have had sufficient proof that I must
 expect the same fate with Mr. 'Leycester,' by the
 same means, but heartily disgusted with being wit-
 ness to measures so inconsistent with justice, honour
 and generosity; as well as the interests of our ho-
 nourable employers, and at the same time unwilling
 to remain longer the dupe of an usurped and arbi-
 trary power, I now take my leave of the board,
 where I desire they will consider my seat as vacated,
 for I can submit to attend no longer at a meeting,
 where I have to expect nothing but the most viru-
 lent and injurious attacks upon my own character,
 and that of my friends; I wish nothing more than
 an opportunity to manifest to the world, the prac-
 tices which have been made use of to injure me. I
 must on this occasion, inform my honourable em-
 ployers, that I am compelled to this sudden abdi-
 cation of their service, and to the relinquishment
 of all the prospects of benefiting my fortune, which
 I hope to have reaped from the continuance of their
 favour; by the president's cruel persecution of my-
 self, and the ill treatment of my friends.

- In answer to a letter of Mr. Leycester, contain-
 ing a representation respecting the service of a Go-
 vernment

maistah, in his employ at Denegepoor by lord Clive; the following is his lordship's reply.

Calcutta, the 18th November, 1765.

Sir,

Your agent stopped and took away a letter, directed to me, and that the messenger in consequence of my representation and complaint, Mahommed Reza Khawn thought proper to send him down to Calcutta; as soon as this affair has been enquired into, he shall have my permission to proceed again up the country. At the time of my complaining to Mahommed Reza Khawn, I did not know that the man was a servant of your's; he cannot, however, be privileged by that, or any other station, to commit violence and oppression, or be exempt from punishment.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) Clive."

Mr. Leycester, upon the occasion of his late suspension, sent the following address to the noble president and council of Fort William.

"My lord and gentlemen,

"When I left my seat at the board at the motion of the president, on the 28th of October, having informed the council I should reply at large to the occurrences of the day, I was greatly amazed to find by a letter from your secretary, that lord Clive, general Carnac, and Mr. Verelst, having taken an advantage of their accidental majority, had suspended me the service, without admitting me the

pre-

privilege of a hearing; and on a subject where Lord Clive and general Carnac being parties concerned, and accused by me, ought certainly not to have given a vote. 'Although that hearing now can by no means answer the end, I could then have depended to have received from it; yet to defend, and justify myself to the world, I must beg a place in your records for what I have here set forth.'

Lord Clive in defence of an arbitrary and oppressive conduct in the seizure and confinement of Mr. Gray's servant by military guards, took occasion on the 14th of October, to declare this to be a military as well as civil government; and in virtue of the former, seemed by the allusion, to claim the right of using military guards in the company's settlements, our men not subject to martial law, whenever he shall think the crimes laid to their charge shall merit such treatment. General Carnac joined in the opinion of its being a military as well as a civil government, and supported the necessity of such a government.

Declarations of such a tendency, from a governor, who holds so high a military commission, and supported by another military officer at our board, would alone be sufficient to alarm the body of the inhabitants; and when the circumstance which drew forth the explanation of their sentiments comes to be considered, they will have still greater cause to be jealous of such assertions. To the instances Lord Clive had already given of his propensity to assert his military power, he added a fresh example in the seizure and detention of Remnaut, a servant of Mr. Gray's, who must by our laws be considered as an inhabitant of Calcutta.

When

. When a governor of this settlement, at once superintending the benefits which the inhabitants are intitled to from the laws of England, holds a man in military confinement, within the limits, and under the age of our civil courts, every man I think must be alarmed, since deducing arguments from facts, each individual lies equally exposed to the same violence and hardship. It may be my lot next to have my banyan and dependant seized by military guards; and though the misfortune should not befall me, am I to consider myself indebted to the clemency of lord Clive, from privileges derived from our happy constitution, and which we have all an equal title to enjoy? no, I would rather beg my bread under any other government than that myself and servants should be exposed to the violence and caprice of any one man. The full benefits of British laws have, by proclamation of the king's judges, at their quarterly sessions, been extended to our black inhabitants of whatever cast and profession, and indeed as they suffer the penalty of our laws, it is reasonable they should reap the advantages of their protection. Remnant uncondemned and unheard, has for many weeks been kept under military guards, and though a civil inhabitant, and therefore not subject to martial laws, he has suffered punishment, without the opportunity allowed him to make his defence, or without any proofs of crimes or misdemeanors committed by him, and he is still held in a state of confinement, that I consider as an insult upon our laws, and a violation of liberty.

. I enter not into the merits of the man, but must insist, that, if the authority exercised over him in

Calcutta be once admitted, scarce any man can live secure, when accusations proved or not, can involve the person against whom they are levelled in immediate distress, or ruin, especially in this country, where the people are more frequently hurried away by motives of resentment, or hopes of gaining favour and interest, to invent malicious and false accusations, than perhaps in any other country in the world. If Remnaut has committed offences against the country government, I will venture to say Mr. Gray never wished to protect him from justice. But nothing can vindicate the breach of our laws and privileges, whatever may have been Remnaut's crimes, he was not noticed, or seized, till his master, (Mr. Gray) demanded that Lord Clive, if he had any charges against him, should lay them before the board. The seizure of his servant, by military guards, appeared the first consequence of this call on Lord Clive. Let any gentleman, for a moment, put himself in Mr. Gray's situation, suppose a servant, in whose integrity you confided, and to whom you intrusted the secrets of your affairs, taken away from you by a band of soldiers, and not allowed the privilege of an interview, the man kept for many weeks under military guards, in a settlement protected by British laws, from which Mr. Gray, a magistrate and a member of the government, is denied that relief, which the poorest man in his own country cannot be deprived of, let any gentlemen, I say, put himself in this situation, and it must awake his feelings for Mr. Gray.

It is not my tenderness personally to Remnaut, that has interested me in this debate. It is the injury

injury done to the privileges of the subject; and that it appears to me, Rémilaut has been oppressed designedly, to insult his matter (Mr Gray,) and an easy inference may be made, that if lord Clive has the right to make this use of the company's soldiers in one case, he may, under pretext of discovering criminal practices, extend the same violence over any other member of the community.

If such declarations, corroborated by such facts, do not give reasonable cause to suppose that lord Clive was meaning to assert a military authority, inconsistent with our civil jurisdiction, I know not what can, we sell the effects of his despotic military system, we hear it avowed, and yet are not to believe he has had any bad design.

Such were my sentiments, and three days only elapsed before, by a minute to the board, I expressed my apprehensions, and gave those gentlemen the earliest opportunity to explain themselves.

Regardless of my remonstrance, or of the alarm that must ensue from his silence, lord Clive allowed my address, so far as regarded him, to rest unnoticed for ten days; the two councils intervened; and, as if superior to the acknowledgment of an error, and inattentive to what sentiments might prevail, while my minute lay yet unanswered, he threatened the use of military guards to send one Mr. Peacock to Europe under plea of an act of parliament to restrain unlicensed persons from coming to India. adding insultingly, that he supposed another uproar would be made about military guards. Mr. Peacock did not, I believe, enjoy the company's license, but had long been allowed to trade in Bengal: had served the company in a military capacity, and had been called upon in-

injuries, all which ought to have saved him from such threats, and as in the present instance, there was no reason to suppose a civil officer could not equally have executed the act, if it was to be put in force, the mention of military guards on such an occasion was only calculated to create a dread of his authority, or to insult those who durst oppose his notions of military powers

It was their fault then, that the settlement was alarmed, and, to speak in the most favourable terms, they were guilty of the highest indiscretion in uttering words that, by repetition, could cause a alarm to the settlement, and in not taking immediate measures to remove such an apprehension. When the inhabitants saw that a military power was thus exercised over a man not subject to martial law, that Mr Verelst, a civil magistrate, had neglected to interpose with his authority for the relief of Remnaut, and that my appeal to the president and council, as a bench of justices, could not prevail to have the guards removed, it was high time for the inhabitants to be alarmed and lord Clive's silence for so many days, on a point that might have been answered in a moment, very naturally increased the general terror and murmur at such proceedings

Lord Clive, at length, perceiving there were men determined to oppose oppression and military violence, however paliated and defended, was reduced to the necessity of disavowing the sentiments, which the common acceptance of his words did surely imply. But however lord Clive may attempt to palliate or whatever light he may endeavour to throw upon declarations which prudence

shol d

should have forbid, and which he must have known were not only unbecoming, but highly disgusted and alarming to the settlement, yet facts will speak for themselves. We see the effects of a military power, inconsistent with our civil jurisdiction, and the avowal of an authority for such proceedings from the nature of our own government, military as well as civil, as asserted by lord Clive, brought the case home to every man's apprehensions for himself, and dependants, should he happen to fall under lord Clive's displeasure.

Had general Carnac waited a very few minutes when he entered his minute on the 18th, he would have found I had said nothing to Mr Sumner, but what I had intended to set forth to the board, to give him or them as early an occasion as possible to explain or correct my ideas of what had passed on the subject of military authority. I came prepared with the minute I then entered, which I particularly mention, that it may not seem I was drawn to make that minute from any call of general Carnac's.

The gentlemen of council, that were present, so far avow the truth of what I assert, that they recollect such declarations were made by lord Clive and general Carnac. It only remains to be determined, whether I did right in appealing to the board, or whether I laid more stress on those declarations than they would admit? Though I believe it will be allowed, that a degree of warmth and jealousy is never more justifiable than in a case where our civil liberty appears to be infringed, I was the more forcibly struck with this idea, from the situation of our government. The two mili-
tary

tary members at the head, and Mr Verelst, over whom lord Clive seems to have the most absolute influence, formed the majority of the council, or even did Mr Verelst dare to differ in sentiment with lord Clive, still his lordship and general Carnac form a majority in the select committee, and as this committee has all along considered their authority superior to the council, the majority of it joining in this opinion and declaration, indicated the government of Bengal to be in a manner, military

Mr Verelst has endeavoured to palliate, and explain away, as it were, the strength of general Carnac's particular address to me, by the assertion of his having previously said, he would always support the civil authority, though in some cases a military force was requisite, to seize atrocious criminals, and that, upon some debate between the general and me he recollects the general told me, in such a case he would not scruple to seize me. Lord Clive, in like manner, on the 28th, attempted to palliate both what he himself had said touching military government, as well as general Carnac's speech to me, which his lordship has expressed in most extraordinary terms. On his lordship's attestation, I must make one observation, that on the 18th, when he was called on by general Carnac, to relate the conversation that had passed, he joined in sentiment with Mr Verelst, but declared he could not recollect the particular words previous to general Carnac's declarations, whereas in his attestations delivered in ten days after, he repeats the conversation, that he says, passed in a very par-

particular manner ; and adds expressions in the close of it, which no other gentleman recollected.

Each relation of the conversation that passed, differs so much in the expression, that the declarations on oath, entered on the 28th, seems as if they were rather their sentiments of what might have passed, than their recollection of what really did pass ; though all remember that general Carnac made use of violent expressions to me, and that there were circumstances under which he would use a military force to seize me. It was the highest insult to the board, to suppose one of its members, and a magistrate, in a situation that could possibly warrant his use of military guards, I will not admit that any military officer is a fit judge when his soldiers are requisite to seize civil subjects ; or that on any account whatever, general Carnac has the liberty to come, with a party of soldiers, to seize my person, unless called upon by a civil officer of justice ; for if these military gentlemen, from the pretext of assisting the civil authority, have the power in their own hands to seize even a magistrate with military guards, I doubt our civil liberty will be found to stand on a very precarious basis ; and from one of the attestations given in upon oath, it must seem, that general Carnac, as an officer, considered himself the judge when a military force was necessary : since he declared, as may be seen from the attestation, that he would not only seize my servant, but my person, if he thought I deserved it.

It was lord Clive's asserting this to be a military as well as a civil government, and the generals insisting on the necessity of such a government that alarm

alarmed me, and gave me reason to lay more stress on what the general said, particularly to me; and as I declare no other part of the general discourse occurred to me, when I wrote my minute, I am totally freed from any reproach of intentional misconstruction by that attestation. Nor will it amaze any one, that words of such a tendency, spoke repeatedly with great violence, should have been particularly impressed upon me. They in the same manner seem to have struck every person present: for each gentleman recollects, that the general expressed himself in violent terms, touching the seizure of my person with military guards, although none of them correspond in the previous conversation. Lord Clive and Mr. Verelst, indeed, have taken great pains to palliate the indiscretion of general Carnac.

It was far from my desire to wrest general Carnac's meaning beyond what I conceived to be the drift of his expression. The total exclusion of all civil power was what I never referred; but that such declarations tended to give a military power an authority inconsistent with our charter of justice, and which no Englishman could patiently submit to; in some cases, I admitted a military force might be requisite; but it could then only act under the civil power, or until a civil officer could take cognizance of the offence. Whereas the point, this occasioned Mr Gray's minute, which led to the debate, was the propriety of military guards kept over a servant of his for some weeks, within the jurisdiction of our civil courts, and an absolute refusal to admit the man to bail.

This

This circumstance gives a weight to what was said, even more than the very expressions might have implied on any other occasion. Lord Clive and general Carnac deny Mr. Gray's question, touching the governor's power of confining the civil inhabitants by military guards; led to this debate. I only refer to the question itself, proposed in consultation that day. By Mr. Gray, I admit that the confinement of Mr. Gray's servant brought on that question, and have in my minute of the 18th particularly said from instances which had really happened: referring to the military seizure and confinement of Remnaut and others: however, I apprehend those gentlemen can advance no arguments in defence of the military power used over Mr. Gray's servant, that will not hold equally good in the case of any other civil subjects. The laws are infringed; and the whole settlement was alike interested in the board's determination on the question that day proposed to them. Astonished and disturbed at the extravagant assertions made by lord Clive and general Carnac in council, it is not surprising, that I should express my uneasiness to my friends. Determined to make what had passed public by an appeal to the board, I was under no obligation, to keep the circumstance an inviolable secret; and had a right to mention, to my friends, assertions that, in my opinion, had a tendency to injure our civil liberty. It was not a private concern of the company's, nor a resolution of the board, entered on our consultations, which required secrecy. It was an indiscretion of those two gentlemen; and had I ever received any instances of confidence from lord Clive, or been regarded by him in the

light which my station intitled me to, it is probable I should have expressed my uneasiness, and desired an explanation from him privately ; but in my situation, treated on all occasions with the greatest slight and haughtiness, such a confidence on my side could never be expected ; and as every individual was as alike interested in the cause, I deem myself justified, and make no doubt the world will justify me, in having mentioned it to the few I did. So far was I industriously propagating reports to alarm the settlement, that I only recollect having mentioned my apprehensions and sentiments of what had passed to one gentleman, on whose judgment and discretion I could rely, until I found the declarations, that were made, known in town ; when, I believe, I talked on the matter to four or five gentlemen of my acquaintance. It was not probable such declarations could long be kept secret : indeed, I was told many had heard the same : that lord Clive himself, on the very day after the council had broke up, mentioned, at his own table, sufficient to inform the town of what had passed ; and that, speaking of general Carnac's warmth at council ; he said, he wished a guglet of water had been poured down the general's throat, to cool his heat, and have prevented such imprudent assertions.

It would indeed be a mortification to me, to be under the necessity of pointing out lord Clive's conduct, as an example to justify my own proceedings in any one point ; but that I may not hereafter be injured by a parallel, however unjust it would be to me, I must make the following remark. Lord Clive has endeavoured to cast an odium on my partial

tial relation of what had passed between general Carnac and me, though I offered to declare upon oath, that, at the time I wrote my minute, no circumstance occurred to my recollection, but what I had mentioned. Whereas his lordship, a few days before, took advantage of some hasty expressions of Mr. Gray's, and though Mr. Gray at the time, almost in the very instant, properly explained his meaning, lord Clive, subsequent to this explanation, snatched his first words, entered them upon record, and against conviction, as it must seem, aimed to throw reflections on Mr. Gray, who in a becoming manner exposed his lordship's ungenerous attempt. What I advanced was the result of the impressions I received from the circumstances of the debate, and the declarations that followed, in farther confirmation of which I must mention, that when lord Clive, on the day of this debate, having wrote a note at the board, went out of the council room to dispatch it, it occurred to me, that he was ordering a military guard to the council-house, to attend his orders. Mr. Gray can attest, when the council broke up, I expressed to him such my suggestions. And to me, who had been a witness, in the time of lord Clive's former government, of his having forced the cutcherry prison with a military guard, and released a man confined by the civil court; such a suggestion was far from being forced or unnatural.

Although the tenor of their declarations was injurious to our privileges, yet that our constitution could actually be subverted by lord Clive and general Carnac, was what I never conceived, and therefore could never intimate, I know it, rested
not

not upon their support ; nor could I believe them so romantic as to oppose themselves to laws which such numbers would most surely defend. It was really a consequence I never gave them : though it is not surprizing, that any words spoken by gentlemen in such high stations ; and holding military commissions, which had a tendency to injure our civil liberty, should so quickly spread, and cause alarm through the settlement.

It was not the mention of what had passed in council, but the declaration being supported by arbitrary acts, which railed the most natural apprehension, that when a servant of a magistrate, and a member of the government, is seized by military guards uncondemned and unheard, kept in military confinement, that every merchant and inhabitant stands in danger of similar ill-treatment, should he chance to be obnoxious to lord Clive ; and no man under his displeasure will rest long unaccused, if he makes it his business to seek information against them.

If one may credit reports, lord Clive frequently makes the debates of council the subject of his table conversation ; when he treats the sentiments and conduct of those who differ from him with ridicule and contempt. I put a question to his lordship to this effect ; to which he answered in the negative ; but when I offered to attest that I had heard him relate in a common company the resolutions of the select committee, which had not to that day been made known to the board, he then admitted it was very possible he might have unguardedly discovered the proceedings of the committee. I must take the liberty to remark on this, that at the
 3 period

period which I alluded to, he did not let drop unguarded expressions about the public business; but gave a regular relation of what had passed in the select committee, for the information of those in the company, and I am also assured, that lord Clive, on occasions less important than the present, thus consulted with such, though no servants of the company, as he thought, could give him useful information touching affairs that were, before the board.

To be detected in an error, was what lord Clive's spirit could not brook without resentment; and he was determined to gratify that by wreaking his vengeance upon me, by a sentence of suspension, dictated to general Carnac and Mr. Verelst, whom he knew would support the measure he should propose.

The violent proceedings of the board on the 28th of October, are, I believe, unparalleled. I several times moved to be heard, and to enter a minute I had prepared on the occasion, but in this I was unsuccessful, as the president took care to postpone my motion till the several minutes of himself and friends were recorded, and their questions to the board proposed and answered; and then he still without hearing me, desired me to withdraw.

It appeared that the president in having wrote the resolution for suspending me before the board, now was at all events determined to remove me from the service. I have been condemned unheard. I have been deprived of my motion for daring to insinuate that the two minority members were in argument, and lord Clive by facts, and

ing a military power inconsistent with our charter of justice. When lord Clive proposed the question, it appears on record, that it would have been carried in the affirmative against lord Clive, had not general Carnac stepped in to his assistance; and so in like manner when general Carnac proposed the same questions in his own behalf, lord Clive gave a vote in his favour; the votes were therefore equal on this question; notwithstanding which, on my only admitting that I had mentioned out of council, what had passed in it; they adjudged me to be the author and propagator of reports, which, by the sanction of lord Clive and general Carnac's voices, are declared false without any regard to the equal division of voices on the question some minutes before.

As to the resolution introduced by lord Clive, it is the most unprecedented, the most unjust, and the most injurious motion ever proposed to a public board of gentlemen; and as I had not a hearing, the acquiescence it met with from general Carnac and Mr. Verelst, must be a proof to the world, that they came pre-determined to condemn whatever arguments I had to produce: or to say no more, lord Clive, by an extraordinary perversion of justice, sitting as judge over his accusers, was happy in a majority which he knew would join him in a resolution, which all unprejudiced men must detest or ridicule as an unparalleled instance of injustice, violence, and absurdity.

That lord Clive has been guilty of a high insult upon our government, by using military guards over me, not subject to martial law. That lord Clive, by asserting in support of this oppression,

that this was a military as well as civil government; and that general Carnac, by joining in this opinion and supporting the necessity of such a government, were causing alarms in the settlement, were making assertions that tended to destroy the peace, harmony, and security of the inhabitants; and that in so doing they were guilty of unfaithfulness to the company's service; and by abusing the trust reposed in them, were unworthy of any rank in it. Had impartial men judged, this perhaps would have been their determination; but when the accused, in their own cause, were to sit in judgment on their accuser, it is no wonder they have passed that sentence upon me, they were probably conscious of having deserved themselves.

Had an unprejudiced, disinterested board passed censure upon me, I should have esteemed it a general misfortune: but when I considered myself removed from my station by a majority of three or two, and that two of these three were sitting on judgment on their excuser; I must confess that I do not in the least lament the extraordinary resolution those gentlemen took against me. I esteem this public testimony of my disapprobation of their opinion and conduct, as a declaration greatly to my honour. I am happy in being thus distinguished as an opposer of arbitrary principles and despotic rule. In my present situation, I am obliged to submit to your authority: but to your superiors I shall appeal for justice for the unworthy treatment I have met with; nor I am in the least apprehensive that the malevolent spirit of party and persecution which we have been the unfortunate witnesses of abroad, will withdraw from me that favour and protection which

which our honourable masters never fail to afford their injured servants; and as your sentence obliges me, notwithstanding the prejudice it may be to my commercial affairs; to a sudden departure in search of that justice and redress which I cannot find here. I must request your permission and orders for a passage in the Grenville. The company's interests I have always had at heart, and I must therefore take the liberty of offering my warmest wishes for their prosperity.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Ralph Leycester."

Calcutta, Déc. 2d, 1765.

Lord Clive in answer to Mr. Leycester's imputations, animadverted on his unfitness to be employed in a post of consequence in such a government as that of the company; his lordship attributed to his uncommon timidity; and to the weakness of his nerves, his apprehensions. That gentleman's behaviour at Decca, continued his lordship, when he abandoned the factory, would in all probability have lost him the service, if general Carnac had not prevailed upon Mr. Vansittart to let him soften the paragraph written on that subject in the general letter. The enemy who had inspired Mr. Leycester with such terrors, proved to be no other than a rabble of Fekees, at whose approach he ran away from the factory.

Mr. Verelst says, lord Clive will always reflect honour on the man who influences him, and be a faithful guardian of the trust reposed in him by his employers. His lordship concluded by letters, that general Carnac is warm in temper, and sometimes

times so in expression, but that the court of directors know his warmth has always been exerted in the cause of virtue and the company, as it ever proceeded from the goodness and openness of his heart.

Mr Verelst on the same subject of grievances, maintained that the right the bench of justices at their quarterly sessions had assumed, to make a proclamation of our laws being extended to the black inhabitants, was a daring encroachment upon the royal prerogative, an act unsufferable in itself, and in its natural consequences cruel and oppressive. And Mr Sykes concludes his minute in answer to Messrs Leycester and Gray's addresses to the court of directors, by these remarkable words "I am not surprized, that Messrs Leycester and Gray, withourstanding upon the ceremony of truth, should endeavour to throw reflections upon any man, who has the resolution and integrity to assist lord Clive in the laborious task of eradicating luxury, corruption and rapacity, which have too long flourished without controul in this settlement." We do not pretend to anticipate the reader's reflections on the conduct of these immaculate gentlemen.

Lord Clive and the select committee in their letter to the court of directors dated Calcutta, January 31, 1766, call Messrs Leycester and Gray's spirited and lawful opposition to their tyrannical measures, an indecent, violent and factious behaviour, beyond any thing ever before tolerated in their government, in the most licentious times. They accused Mr Leycester of having attempted to involve the settlement in anarchy and civil dissensions, by raising a ferment in the minds of the

people, on an expression hastily dropt by general Carnac at the board, that might have excited the inhabitants to open sedition. The alarm, said they, that we were about to introduce a military government, became so general, we thought it incumbent on us to trace the author of such dangerous calumny ; and upon a conviction that Mr. Leycester had forged and published it, with a design of weakening the hands of administration, we judged it necessary to suspend him, as unworthy of his station in your service.

General Carnac in his minute, dated February 3, 1766, speaking of his lordship's principles and administrations, says, The conviction that the system adopted by lord Clive has quite a contrary tendency to Mr. Vansittart's measures, entirely repugnant to the company's honour and interests, and that his lordship is zealously labouring for the public good, is the motive of my so heartily coinciding with him. While his lordship perseveres in so laudable a pursuit, which from his established character, the general tenor of his conduct and his independency, we may justly infer he will do, it will be my greatest pride to exert my utmost endeavours to keep pace with him : thus the noble president and the select committee complimented each other on the new administration they had modelled.

The following is Mr. Gray's minute in answer to lord Clive.

I ord Clive in his minute of the 28th October, assumes his usual state of affected superiority, and con-

contempt for these of different sentiments from himself. Although I do not feel myself hurt by his contumelious manner ; yet as the appearance of submission may encourage him to a continuance of it, I will here without scruple, treat his lordship with that freedom of sentiment and expression, of which he has set me the example.

He very generously condescends to indulge me with an answer to my queries ; but is mistaken in the intent of them. He took the mean advantage, of strengthening himself by summoning every informer he could enlist under his banner, without allowing me an opportunity of calling a single witness for my defence . or, if he stood forth a professed accuser, how came he to sit in judgment on my conduct ? the truth is, that he was conscious that his pretended accusations were so trifling in themselves, and so ill supported, that when he was called upon to produce them, he found himself reduced to the necessity of using the most unjustifiable means in search of more capable informers, and new matters of aspersinn.

If his lordship *never* authorized any person whomsoever to demand by threats on guards, letters or other papers relative to my fortune or connections, great liberties have been taken with his lordship's name. Mahomed Reza Khawn has demanded false accusations from people in the city, as I can prove by letters when I think it necessary. My letter has been demanded from Bolakydass ; my accounts, as I have been informed have been demanded from Remnaur, even while under confinement, and copies of papers have been demanded from Servopchund, which were thought to relate to me. It
were

were absurd to think, that such a number of circumstances of this sort could happen at the same time, without his lordship's knowledge ; and it can scarcely be believed, that his lordship's servants or administration at the city durst take such steps without orders. What stress may therefore be laid on his lordship's honour on the present occasion, every man must judge for himself.

There is no evidence Bullant Roy or Mooteram could give in the points relative to the conduct of Mr. Johnstone their master, which could justify the oppressive and unlawful measure of seizing them with a military guard, in order to extort matter of accusation from them. Such an offence against the rights and privileges of British subjects, living under the civil jurisdiction, infinitely exceeds the worst they could lay to Mr: Johnstone's charge. Racks and tortures have been long exploded from our constitution : they are the execrable expedients of tyranny to effect its purposes ; but I see no difference betwixt such actual tortures and the infamous system of seizing the man from whom information is required by a military guard. That house which ought to be his shelter is rendered his dungeon. The insolent guards abuse him. He is not suffered to satisfy even the common occasions of nature, without paying dearly for it. He is terrified with the severest threats ; yet at the same time given to understand, that if he would make discoveries agreeable to lord Clive, he may purchase his ease.

He is solemnly paraded through the town under a guard, carried before the frowning president, where under all the horrors of such a situation,

severe questions are asked him, such as, together with the hints before given him, point out the desired answers. Human nature cannot bear such a burden without having recourse to any expedient for relief. Without regard to truth, the trembling prisoner will say whatever promises to relieve his present distress, and under such circumstances, (the very system of an inquisition) many have been known to condemn themselves of facts which even the judges perfectly knew they were innocent of. It is a dangerous example, that may afford precedent for the most flagitious oppressions, and the evidence so procured must always be doubtful in fact, and invalid in law. A new pretext of injuring the subject may always be alledged by an oppressive governor, of his lordship's ingenuity. He has assumed to himself a power beyond what the laws allow to any single man in the British dominions, over the lives and properties of individuals; but I am at a loss to judge from whence it is that lord Clive seems in this, to place so much value upon the late Juggat Seat's merits with the English; the principal of which that I can recollect, was his application for the jaghire, which lord Clive received from the present nabob's father. Gratitude, I presume, to the memory of the father, engages his lordship to shew such extraordinary kindness to the son.

It is not by declaring one's self-approbation to the world, only affecting a contempt of the accuser, that suspicion will be removed. *The one may be deemed an ebullition of self-praise, arising from a heart swollen with pride and conceit, the other an arrogant exultation in superiority of rank, which*
gives

gives a man who possesses more power than politeness, a liberty of venting his malice or spleen in indecent terms. Also the nature of the fictitious treaty with Omichund; it would be entertaining to the world, if his lordship would explain what could be the inducement that led admiral Watson to authorize another gentleman to sign his name and affix his seal, when he did not chuse to do it himself?

Supposing the sum stipulated in the fictitious treaty was not struck off purpotedly to be divided amongst lord Clive and sundry other gentlemen; will his lordship declare upon his honour, that the money mentioned in a paper known by the name of the lall cangus, (the red paper, a title which the natives give to Omichund's treaty, written on red paper) was not divided, or whether a sum of money, between thirty and forty lacs, found in the nabob's treasury at Murshadabad, was not divided betwixt himself and several other gentlemen, exclusive of what was stipulated for the select committee and the army? I shall only remark, that lord Clive's share of committee money, and donation to the army, did not exceed 70,000*l.* sterling; it would therefore be a satisfaction to the world, in vindication of his lordship's character, if he would relate the times and circumstances by which he obtained the remainder of his amazing fortune, acquired in so short a period.

When the world considers the means by which lord Clive raised a princely fortune, it must be matter of amazement to see him preaching moderation in the settlement, and attacking all those benefited by the same means of which he set an example.

Where

Where is the self-denial if he wishes to add more to an estate, swelled already beyond the bounds of his most sanguine expectation? Money is not the object he would seem to lust for longer; he possesses already more than he can enjoy; but his present pursuits are unlimited powers, and titles to feed the vanity of an insatiable ambition: to this idol, does he not seem to sacrifice any one who will not implicitly bow the knee? And well versed in every art of attack, does he spare any method to oppress those whom he cannot overawe? He has imbibed his notions from his military way of life, and as if still among his inferior officers, where none dare to contradict, he issues forth his commands to the board with the same imperious authority, and expects implicit obedience. As to his lordship's long declaration to prove the expediency of the military power, he would fain be invested with; indeed my sentiments differ widely from his. Lord Clive, by pluming himself on his age and experience in the service, would seem to throw a sarcastic reflection on our youth, and treats what we have advanced in support of our opinion, as pompous, romantic, and declamatory. The ill language lord Clive has introduced to the board in his arguments with me, surprises me no longer, as he has dealt freely with the settlement collectively, and to give credit to lord Clive's declarations, any man must suppose Calcutta a sink of licentiousness and corruption. This setting up himself as a pattern and standard of integrity and morality, but such assertions ought to be proved by facts, and I call upon his lordship to point out a single act of generosity or goodness of heart he has performed since his return.

to this settlement, and then I will freely ascribe to him his due merit.

(Signed) George Gray.

February 8th, 1766.

Mr. Gray, in a letter to the noble president and his council, that general Carnac was raised by lord Clive's power, whose favour still supported him. He taxed the general with having received considerable presents from the nabob Meer Jaffer, and other people; consequently that he had no right to condemn those who had accepted the same bounty; and that he had been benefited in a more ample manner by far than most of the company's servants. Mr. Gray observed that general Carnac's fortune had been suddenly got, and that neither he nor lord Clive would declare how much they had profited by trade, whatever they are possessed of, continues he, has come unto them as presents, plunder, or such inglorious means, as lord Clive has declared, in a military capacity.

Copy of a letter from lord Clive.

To the court of East-India directors, dated Calcutta, the 20th of March, 1766.

" Gentlemen,

" Par. I. I have the honour to send you inclosed abstracts of all your civil and military expences upon this establishment from the first of January 1765, to the first of January 1766, and likewise the particulars of your military expences

es for one month the civil disbursements for one or two months at some of the distant factories were wanting, but I have computed them upon an average, and the difference cannot be material. These accounts will bear testimony to the great inattention, negligence, and extravagancy, which have prevailed on both departments, and convince you, that I have not exaggerated the abandoned state of this settlement. Your orders for sending to you annually the state of your military expences have I find, been after repeated in vain, and when accounts amounting to such large sums, are kept so long behind hand, the detection of frauds is impossible.

II It gives me pain, though it may be my duty, so often to repeat the observation, that your service in general, for want of capacity or attention in some, and want of principle in others, has, for these two or three years past, been nothing but a scene of fraud and confusion. I feel however, a conscious satisfaction within myself, that I shall see your affairs upon such a footing before I leave this country, that it will only depend upon yourselves, whether the company shall or shall not (excuse my vanity upon the occasion) enjoy the fruit of my labours.

III Permit me to suggest, that it is become absolutely necessary you should send from England five or six gentlemen of unquestionable abilities and good constitutions, qualified for the secretary's and accountant's offices. Without such assistance, it is evident that your civil branches cannot long continue in order, nor will your accounts, by which

you only can discover frauds, abuses and neglects, be regularly transmitted.

IV. Agreeably to the sixth paragraph of my letter of the first of February, a committee is now formed for examining into the state of every department, and for establishing what is much wanted, method as well as integrity and oeconomy in each; and I flatter myself you will soon be convinced of the utility of the inquiries now on foot; as no other means can so effectually obtain for you a true statement of your affairs here, or so clearly ascertain the points which require reformation.

V. In my former letters, I with great truth as well as freedom, observed to you, that most of your servants in Bengal were so young, so extravagant, and had imbibed notions so contrary to their honour and your interest, that it was incumbent upon you to seek for assistance elsewhere. Your principal servants should always be men of sense, years and experience; for if we reflect but for a moment on the extensiveness of your concerns, revenues amounting to millions sterling, a trade which may be carried on to the amount of seventy lacks of rupees, and dominions to govern, which exceed Great Britain in extent and number of subjects; it is impossible to conceive how such a government can long exist under the management of boys, whose principles are corrupted by example, and the glare of wealth, the moment they land. I have recommended to you the sending out five or six gentlemen qualified for the secretary's and accountant's office; if you should think proper to adopt such a plan, you will undoubtedly consider, whether you will allow these gentlemen a certain rank

rank and to rise in your service, or fix them to a certain rank and certain posts, granting them the full privilege of trade, their emoluments will in either case reward their services in five or six years; and indeed they will heartily deserve an independency if they carry on the accounts and business of this settlement with method and integrity.

VI. That you may be fully convinced of the utility and necessity of regulating every department, I must request you will suspend your judgment (among many other reasons for the necessity of the late measure) until we are enabled to lay before you an abstract of the expences of the present year, that you may examine into the particulars, and compare them with those now before you, for the year past.

VII. You will be pleased to remark, that I have made a minute in consultation, desiring to have abstracts of all your expences, civil and military, transmitted to me by the 15th of every month, that I may from thence form a general abstract of the whole, to be entered monthly on the face of the consultations, in pursuance of my idea in the seventh paragraph in my last letter; but as these entries would be very voluminous, and add greatly to the business of the secretary's office, already too extensive, I propose only to enter the sum total of every department on the face of the consultations, and enter the abstracts in a separate book, which shall be laid before the board monthly, and transmitted to you when the year's accounts are completed, this book will shew you the monthly and yearly account of every head.

VIII. The English East India company are here so situated, that they cannot be less than they are
now

now without ceasing to be at all ; and was equally certain that their present greatness will add to the power and influence of their servants, already too extensive ; to check and confine the unbounded designs of these whose ambition is constantly thwarting the interests of their employers, has been my daily labour , and although I have as yet done but little towards that general reformation, without which I am convinced the company cannot long have a being in Bengal, yet I have done sufficient, greatly to injure my constitution, and to obtain the odium of all your servants, excepting the very few whose ideas with the public good correspond with mine. Perquisites and privileges to the utmost extent, and manifestly to the great detriment of your service, have been so long tolerated, that every attempt towards reducing your immense expences, where private interest is concerned, is considered as the greatest hardship ; and prescription is every where against reason and justice. In short, supported though I am with a council and a committee, strenuous in their resolution to reform abuses, I shall only be able to leave things upon a plan of amendment, and it must finally rest with yourselves to give permanency and stability to Bengal, by the most vigorous efforts of your power. The insight and knowledge I am endeavouring to acquire in every department, will, I hope, enable me to lay before you materials sufficient to write upon, and completely to effect the great purposes of our wish.

IX. As this may probably be the last time of my troubling you by letter with my ideas of your affairs, not only the company's interest but my own
honour

honour calls upon me to represent to you, that if you do not unite to a man, in the exertion of your utmost abilities, and in the pursuit of the most resolute and determined measures, you will no longer be masters, or have the least authority over your servants. Bengal must inevitably, in the space of two or three years, sink under it's own weight of corruption and extravagance.

I have the honour to be

With the greatest respect,

Calcutta,

Gentlemen,

20 March, 1766.

Your most obedient, and

Most humble servant.

(Signed) Clive.

At a select committee held at Calcutta the 22d of October 1766, relative to the trade, coinage and other matters. Present, the right honourable Lord Clive, president, brigadier general Carnac and Harry Verelst, Esqrs.

Mr. Robert Hunter surgeon of the third brigade, having by his own misconduct, incurred dismissal from the service ;

Ordered, That the secretary shall write to Mr. Lawrell, secretary to the committee of trade, directing, that Mr. Hunter's name be struck out from the list of proprietors on the inland trade, and such advances as he hath made on his share of the capital stock, for the present year immediately returned to him at his attornies.

A list of exports and imports being now prepared and delivered in by the custom-master agreeable to our orders to that effect of the 16th of September.

Resolved,

Resolved, that in future the trade of all Europeans whatever be confined to the articles specified in the list of goods imported by shipping, or from the aurrungs on which the honourable company received duties, and considered as returns to, or exports from the presidency and factories, and that no trade shall henceforward be carried on, from one aurrung to another, or from one part of the interior country to another, in any of the articles contained in this list, or in any other articles whatsoever, on pain of confiscation of the goods, to be appropriated at the pleasure of this committee, and forfeiture of the company's service, or of free merchants indentures or licence of the governor and council; according as the trespass shall be committed by persons in or out of the company's service.

The committee had made themselves the uncontrollable arbiters of the property which every man had a right to, who laboured under that displeasure however unjustly.

The powers which the company derived from the charters originally granted them by the royal prerogative, are here extended by this omnipotent committee, over all the subjects of France, Portugal, Denmark and Holland in Bengal.

The seizure and confiscation of men's property without the legal decision of any judges or juries; was an object of no consideration in the eyes of this all-powerful and enlightened committee, who pretended not to be accountable in India for any oppressions there committed,

The mint matter having represented to the noble president and the select committee, that some error had crept into the translation of the regulations
for

for a new gold coinage, which may mislead the minters and produce a debasement of the currency; this gross mistake was inexcusable. There was not a man in the committee or the council capable of judging whether the translation into the Bengal language was rightly made. From this one fact in an article so material to a great commercial nation, as the gold coinage, let the reader judge of all the other laws made at Calcutta for the interior government of the Bengal provinces.

At a select committee, present the right hon.^d lord Clive president, brigadier general Carnac, and Henry Verelst, Esq.

Fort William, Oct. 31st, 1766.

Having in our proceedings of the 19th of February last, resolved that no Gomastahs employed by the company's servants, or by other Europeans trading under the licences from the company, should in future interfere directly or indirectly with any thing relative to the government; and also, that such Gomastahs should, in all disputes with the country people, apply for redress and justice to the chief of the nearest subordinate to the ministers to the resident at the Durbar, or to the council, or select committee.

And it being now the intention of this committee to fulfil, in the most effectual manner, the honourable company's instructions respecting the inland trade, and to remove all cause of disturbance and oppression committed in the interior country, under sanction of the English name, Resolved, That in future all Gomastahs, whether employed on ac-
count

point of the company, or of individuals, shall strictly refrain from interfering in any matters that may tend to interrupt the collections, or disturb the business of government

That they shall scrupulously avoid taking cognizance of any disputes or differences they may have with the country people, or assuming to themselves any degree of judicial authority. That in all such points of difference and dispute, whether with respect to trade or otherwise, they shall appeal first to the nearest officer of the government, and in case of delay, or refusal of redress from him, they shall then lay their complaint before Mahommed Reza Khawn, or the resident at the Durbar, or the council, or select committee

That whoever shall be found deviating from the evident meaning and intent of this resolution, (a copy of which will be sent to the resident at the Durbar, and to Mahommed Reza Khawn) shall immediately forfeit their employments and the company's protection, and likewise be subject to such further punishment as the council or committee may think proper to inflict

That to prevent any interruption to trade, Mahommed Reza Khawn be desired to issue orders to all officers of the government, to yield every possible encouragement to licensed trade, and to the business of those Gomastahs who shall duly confine themselves to the above restrictions

Also that Mahommed Reza Khawn be desired to direct the officers of the government, to call upon all Gomastahs to register their pervanahs or licences of trade, and dastucks in the district where they reside, and likewise to order the public officers of each aurung or district, to send him a regular

lar-monthly return of all pervanahs so registered; Notice having already been given, pursuant to our resolution of the 19th of February last, that all Gomastahs should apply to the president for pervanahs, and the allowance of time for that purpose being now deemed fully sufficient, Agreed, "That Mahomed Reza Khawn be desired to issue orders to the officers of the government, to call upon the Gomastahs in different parts of the provinces immediately, to register the pervanahs, and to send all persons who cannot produce a proper authority for their trade and residence, without delay to Calcutta.

And further, to prevent all frauds arising from counterfeit and forged dustucks.

Agreed, the custom-master be directed to make a monthly return to the resident at the durbar of all dustucks and pervanahs entered in his office, the same to be communicated to the ministers; whereby they may be able to detect all imposition and fraud, by comparing the monthly returns from the custom-house with those made from the aurungs, &c.; Mahomed Reza Khawn delivers into the committee, a list of the chockeys, for collecting the duties on trade, and also of the military guards which he thinks necessary at each. The same being approved,

Ordered, It to be entered after the proceedings, and agreed, that Mahomed Raza Khawn be desired to place the guards with all convenient expedition, and to get the necessary draughts made for that purpose from the pergunnah battalions

(Signed Clive.

S f

John Carnac;
H. Verelst.

Harry

Harry Verelst, Esq; president during lord Clive's indisposition, laid before the board, at a consultation held the 11th of December, 1766, a letter from the nabob Seyf al Dowlah, at this time an infant. To lord Clive, purporting, that the year before his late brother paid the sum of six lacks of rupees into the company's cash upon bonds: that three lacks have been since paid to him at Murshadabad, and the balance of three lacks which remain, he desired may be added to the fund established by lord Clive, for the maintenance and support of the invalid military, in the company's service, and the families of such as may lose their lives in it.

Ordered, That an interest note be granted for the said money, in the name of lord Clive, in order that his lordship may appropriate the same to the purpose desired, and the president is requested to return our thanks to the nabob, for so handsomely contributing to this charitable institution.

Read a letter from Mr. George Vansittart, dated the 10th instant, accompanied with one addressed to this board, which was sent under cover to him, by Mr. Henry Vansittart, being an answer to a letter given in by general Carnac, soon after Mr. Vansittart's departure from this settlement in December 1764.

Ordered, That Mr. Vansittart's letter be entered after the proceedings of this day; and that a copy thereof, attested by the secretary, be delivered to general Carnac: but the board do not think themselves authorized to grant a copy of the papers requested by Mr. Vansittart, without the express directions of our honourable masters.

From

From the nabob Seyf al Dowlah to the right honourable lord Clive.

Received October 21, 1766.

Some time ago my deceased brother, the nabob, Najim al Dowlah, paid to your excellency the sum of five lacks of rupees, agreeable to the commands of our late father, Meer Mahommed Jaffier Khawn ; and we hear you have settled that sum for the soldiers, &c. Last year my late brother paid six lacks of rupees into the company's cash upon bond, of this money, three lacks have been paid to me at Murshadabad, and the balance of three lacks which remains, I give as a fund to be disposed of in the same manner as the former five lacks, and request your excellency to settle it after the same manner.

A true translation by Robert Maddison.

To the right honourable the president, and the rest of the council of Fort William in Bengal.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

“ I troubled you with a letter from Madrafs, dated the 30th January 1765, upon the occasion of one which I heard had been delivered to your board, by major Carnac, soon after my departure ; but being then a stranger then to the contents, I could only observe, it was not for major Carnac's credit to endeavour to take such unfair advantage of my absence. I have since received a copy of that letter ; and, distant as I am from you, I am too desirous

rous of preserving your good opinion, to suffer it to go unanswered."

Copy of major Carnac's letter to the president and council of Bengal, dated the 24th Dec. 1764.

"I have received your favours of the 20th instant, though I have hitherto declined the company's employ, to which I have been so honourably restored; give me leave to assure you, it was not from a want of a due sense of that honour, which was the more flattering as coming from the same court who, through the misrepresentation from hence, but had been induced to dismiss me. But I could not consistently with my principles, act while the chief management of affairs remained with the person to whose mal-administration so many of our countrymen had fallen the unfortunate victims, and by which the settlement has been brought to the brink of ruin; nor could I be of use to my employers, while a gentleman presided who was actuated by the most violent pique against me, in resentment for the strenuous opposition I had (though ineffectually) made to his pernicious measures. That obstacle being now removed, I with much pleasure resume my station; happy in the conviction, that I shall henceforward receive that justice which I have heretofore in vain expected, in return for the most fervent zeal, and exertion of my utmost endeavours for the service of our masters. I will, agreeably to your desire, gentlemen, get myself ready as fast as possible, to proceed to take the command of the army in the subah of Illalabad, and hope to be able to set out by the 10th of next

month

month at farthest. In the mean time, let me request your recommending to major Munro, to seeing the produce of the captures distributed to the men, it being incumbent upon him so to do ; and without which I shall be very unwilling to receive from him the charge of the forces, as I do not choose to be again a witness of the ill effects resulting from demands of this nature being left unsatisfied.

I think it my duty, gentlemen, to lay before you the accompanying fourteen original Persian papers : two of them being warrants under Meer Cossim's seal, directing the murder of the English prisoners, and where delivered to Mr. Batson, by the very persons to whom they were delivered, as you will see by his note to me, herewith sent. The other pervanahs serve to demonstrate beyond possibility of a doubt, Meer Cossim's intention of commencing war against us, though the contrary has been industriously propagated by the insatuated partizans of that most execrable of tyrants

I am, with greatest respect,

(Signed) J. Carnac."

The answer.

As major Carnac's letter consists only of calumnies conceived in general terms, without so much as attempting to offer a reason, or an instance in support of the most malicious aspersions ; of course, to expose his fallacy, injustice, and vanity, must likewise be general. I might very well say, that the misfortunes which happened to us in Bengal in 1763, were owing to the violent councils of that very man, who is pleased to impute them to mal-admini-

stray

at full liberty possessed or ravaged all the Bahar province, and took up their winter quarters in the midst of it. I could not approve of this conduct, and here lurks the reason why major Carnac no longer acknowledges any merit in me, and loads me with reproaches instead of praise; from the mouth of so partial and interested a judge both are equal. I certainly had no reason to be pleased with general Carnac's behaviour towards me; yet I suffered not my resentment to have the least effect upon my conduct in the government. When major Adams made favourable mention of general Carnac's behaviour in one of the battles fought under his command, I did him more than justice in my report to the court of directors, as the general letter of the 8th of October, 1763, will shew; and I believe that this I may add, that very recommendation was the means of getting him restored to the company's service; so that it is without reason he complains of the want of a proper return for his most fervent zeal. Afterwards indeed, during his command in 1764, at the time when our army was blocked up and insulted by a rabble, and we had lost a large part of the Bahar province, I could not subscribe to the title he gave himself, of "Our deliverer," nor admit that extraordinary degree of military merit he pretended to, &c.

I am, honourable sir and sirs,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Henry Vanstuart."

If we compare lord Clive's administration with that of Mr. Vanstuart, we may easily perceive that the boasted equitable plan formed by his lordship

ship and the select committee, afforded more reasons of complaint to the nabob and the natives, than any step of his predecessor.

In vain the court of directors reposed full confidence in his lordship to get this work accomplished. The court had granted the noble governor a salary of six thousand pounds per annum, with other emoluments; but declared these to be in full for all services both civil and military, and his lordship was not to have any allowance whatever by way of commission or otherwise, out of the revenues from any of our territorial acquisitions whatever.

Notwithstanding the company's orders on the above subject, the select committee resolved, among other things, That they esteemed it most correspondent to the said orders, that the whole trade shall be carried on by an exclusive society, who should buy or sell the whole produce of the country, and all its imports of salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, chiefly for the emolument of the noble lord and his committee.

They enacted that all persons under the company's protection should be prohibited dealing in the above-mentioned articles excepting this society; and that application should be made to the nabob to issue the same prohibition to all his officers and subjects.

That upon their agents having transported the above articles to certain places, the country merchants might then purchase the society's salt, and re-sell it in the country.

That the company and nabob shall be considered either by duties, nuzzeranah, or as proprietors.

Mr. Sykes having claimed from the nabob one
hung

hundred and six pervanah's, authorizing the society of trade to proceed in this business, the said pervanah's were ordered to be delivered to the committee of trade for their guidance.

Though the court of directors had positively forbidden any steps being taken towards renewing the trade established in this exclusive society, and reposed the utmost confidence in lord Clive, to carry these orders into execution, it does not appear that any attention was paid to the above subject.

Lord Clive, in a letter to the court of directors, complained of the rapacity of almost all the company's servants, and returned thanks for the confidence reposed in him to settle the inland trade in salt; his lordship claimed the honour of having first proposed the plan for carrying on the salt trade whilst he was at sea, and transmitted an estimate of the advantages of such trade to sundry individuals.

Whilst lord Clive was on a visit to the army, a copy of a letter from the court of directors was transmitted to his lordship and general Carnac; this letter totally condemned the conduct of those servants who could suppose they were entitled to restitution for losses sustained in an illicit trade in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco. Another letter from the court of directors expressly declared every person concerned in the inland trade, guilty of a breach of covenants; but it does not appear that the council took any other notice of the subject of the inland trade in consequence of this letter, than by ordering a copy of the material parts to be sent to lord Clive.

The court's letter, dated 19th of February 1766, per lord Camden, very fully explained their former letters, and totally condemned the fifth article of the treaty with Najim al Dowlah, respecting the inland trade in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, commanded a formal renunciation thereof, and repeated that every one concerned in such trade stood guilty of a breach of covenants; and also further declared, that whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may have happened, it was the court's resolution to prohibit, and they did absolutely prohibit this trade of salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, and all articles which were not for export or import.

Lord Clive delivered in a minute, signifying, that all the court's letters indicated a design to wait for the committee representations. His lordship observed, that the company could not have then been apprized of the favourable turn of their affairs, but that a few weeks more must bring their final resolution; and that if they should repeat their orders, it would be the duty of the committee to obey them; but that as they might change their sentiments, his lordship thought no time should be lost in establishing the mode of conducting the said trade in future; and therefore, he proposed sundry regulations for a new plan of trade, which received the sanction of the committee.

By another plan of lord Clive approved in council, it was agreed, that a duty should be paid to the company of 50 per cent. on all salt produced in their own lands, and 50 per cent. to the government, upon all the salt made in their district, and the duties upon beetle-nut was increased from 10

to 15 per cent. on the prime cost, which revenue was all finally to be brought into the company's treasury

That all the society's salt should be sold at Calcutta, or such other places where it is made, and no where else ; the natives were then to be the only re-purchasers : and to them salt was not to exceed two rupees per maund

No European was permitted to have any further dealings in salt.

The society of trade was to be answerable to the board for their conduct, and both to be controlled by the select committee. The trade was divided into sixty shares : thirty-two of which were to be enjoyed by the members of council, but none by the governor . and after a distribution of the shares there remained $4\frac{1}{2}$ shares unappropriated, one of which was afterwards given to Mr. Verelst, and the remainder divided among some of the military.

Lord Clive proposed to relinquish trade, excepting in diamonds, and sale of stock on hand ; in consideration of receiving $1\frac{1}{8}$ th per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, excepting on the company's lands at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, but stipulated also for his salary, stated allowances, and commission upon the mint, coral and freight goods besides. His lordship observed on this occasion, that the unhappy dissensions which had frequently brought the company's possessions in Bengal to the point of destruction, had generally proceeded from the conduct of governors, and their eager pursuit of private interest ; which had reduced them to the necessity of

conni-

conniving at abuses that otherwise would have been remedied.

The council fully approved of his lordship's proposal, and covenant with him in the name of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, to grant his lordship a commission of $1\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the aforesaid revenues, and his other allowances as before specified. An indenture binding the contracting parties, was executed by lord Clive and the council, and recorded in the mayor's court. His lordship also took an oath at the same time to abide by the stipulation contained in the said bond. The council agreed, that lord Clive's commission of $1\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the revenue, should take place from the first of September 1766.

The court's letter to lord Clive and committee, dated the 17th of May 1766, re-capitulated the company's former orders, who still declared that they could not admit of carrying on of the said trade, in any shape whatever ; and pronounced against all concerned therein guilty of a breach of covenants ; and signified, that the first lawyers in the kingdom confirmed their sentiments ; that no regulations whatever could be formed, that could prevent consequences, similar to those which had already happened. That were they to allow of such trade, under any restrictions, it would be subscribing to all the mischiefs which had befallen Bengal for four years past. The court observed in the same letter, that his lordship had at once discerned the company's true interest in every branch ; that unbiassed integrity had guided all his actions :

for which and the advantages thereby obtained, he had their sincerest thanks. The inland trade was however totally condemned; and his lordship was informed, that the court could not be brought to approve it, even under the limitations and regulations settled by the select committee. That as the said trade had been abolished, the court hoped his lordship would find means to prevent its being monopolized in any hands whatever, lest the poor might still suffer these very inconveniencies, for the prevention of which, the court had not only forbid their servants to trade therein, but relinquished those advantages that the company themselves might make by such monopoly: at the same time, the court observed to the select committee, that they do not mean to abolish the ancient duties on the above articles, which constitute part of the revenues of Bengal; but the adjustment of these duties was left to the judgment and consideration of the select committee.

The board having postponed the consideration of the above letter, and appointed a general consultation for that purpose, they met, but never once mentioned the articles of the inland trade.

Resolved by the select committee, 21st December 1766, "That the unappropriated whole share in the capital stock of the society of trade, be annexed to the two shares already assigned to Mr. Verelst, in consideration of the restrictive oath to be taken when he enters, upon the government; and that the commission of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the dewanee revenues be assigned to lord Clive till the first day of September next, in lieu of the five shares

shares which his lordship has relinquished in the capital stock of the society of trade.

(Signed) Clive.

John Carnac,

H. Verelst.

The copy of the following letter from lord Clive, then at Murshadabad to the nabob Najim al Dowlah, will shew that these enslaved princes were become the despicable tools of the usurpers of their power and dignity; at the same time that they professed a sort of veneration for their person. When your excellency was in Calcutta, myself and the gentlemen of the committee, after mature consideration, judged it to be for your interest and the welfare of the country that Mahommed Reza Khawn, Mahataj. Dooluram; and Juggut Seat, should be appointed under you, to carry on the affairs of the government. The reasons of these appointments I explained to you fully in Calcutta, and they met your approbation. I had frequently heard, that Cayan Beg had at different times, been making use of menacing expressions with regard to these gentlemen; and what I saw upon my arrival here, confirmed to me the truth of this information: For Mahommed Reza Khawn and Jugget Seat, through the apprehension of their lives being in danger, were so much frightened, that they were unable to apply themselves quietly to the management of the business committed to their charge. I have therefore been under the necessity of removing him; and purpose sending him immediately to calculate. I hope your excellency will set your mind at ease. Be assured that I look upon your person as sacred,
and

and act with a view to your interest. The removing of such dangerous men from your presence is absolutely necessary, both for your welfare and the company's and is what we have a right to do by the terms of the treaty subsisting between us.

The king Shaw Allum wrote to Lord Clive, and the council at Calcutta in the following terms.

Our faithful servant general Carnac has, for these four years past, showed forth the duty of obedience and attachment to the royal sircar, in such manner that we are inexpressibly pleased and delighted with him; particularly at this time, he so exerted himself in punishing and driving out the Marattas and settling the country, that we are now enabled to live without apprehension, in ease and pleasure. That a person who has shown such fidelity to us, should go unrewarded, is injuring to our dignity; and, therefore notwithstanding the then scarcity of money in the royal sircar, we were formerly several times desirous of making the general some present, but he would by no means consent to it. Now by the blessing of God, and our auspices and the general's labours, our affairs being in a flourishing and prosperous state, we are pleased to make the general a present of two lack of rupees; and it is our royal command, that with a view to our satisfaction, you our faithful servants, should grant him permission to receive the said money.

- At a select committee the right honourable the president laid before them a letter from Sujah al Dowlah, wherein he expressed his apprehensions, that a secret treaty was negotiating between the king and Marattas, who amused him with promises of escorting him to Dehly, on condition of his
 majesty's

majesty's ceding to them the countries of Korah: Allahabad.

Agreed, we send colonel Smith an extract of vizier's letter, and desire he will expostulate with the king on the weakness of his conduct, and if necessary, assist Sujah al Dowlah with all his force oppose any irruption of the enemy into his country, and that a paragraph to this effect be added to letter to colonel Smith, minuted in the last proceedings. Sujah al Dowlah complaining in the same letter, that the business of his government meets with great interruption from the gentlemen of the English factory at Banaras.

It is our positive order that whoever is directed to take charge of the factory, will not interfere directly or indirectly, with the affairs of government but confine himself strictly to the collection of Tunkhaw money, for which purpose solely Mr. Marriott's residence is continued at Banaras. The European agents shall enter into such engagements and restrictions as we may judge necessary for regulating their conduct, and securing the country from disturbance, and the natives from injury and molestation, &c.

(Signed) Clive.

The nabob Sujah al Dowlah wrote to lord Clive the following letter.

I have written to you several times, which letters you must have received. As I am ever anxious to learn the news of your welfare, the friendship between us requires. That you should always rejoice me by writing. At present Mr. Marriott is occa-

occasioning a disturbance in the mint at Banaras, you should enjoin him not in any wise to make opposition and contention, but to use his endeavours in well conducting every business.

P. S. With regard to the treaty between us, I trust to God, that while I live I shall not swerve therefrom. At Banaras I acquainted you fully with the state of my affairs; and that you should so manage for me, that I might have no concern with any one save yourself; and thanks to God you have done it. Concerning the king's affairs, yourself was an eye witness of them before your departure, therefore it is needless for me to repeat them to you. At present however, a treaty is on foot between his majesty, and Mulharow the Maratta, carried on through the channel of Seyf al Deen Khawn, a native of Cashmeer; and by a letter received from a Maratta, which may be relied on, I have learnt, that Mulharow has through the men of Cashmeer above-mentioned, asked of the king Illahabad Korah; &c. that his majesty consents to his requests, and that the Cashmeer man's vakeel having undertaken the management of this business, has come over and waited on the king. I therefore wrote to inform you, that if, (which God forbid) these measures should take place, it will be the occasion of terrible disturbance in my Subah. I know not whether you are informed of these particulars or not.

Mr Marriott is still making a disturbance in the mint at Banaras, and allows me no manner of authority in it. It is likely he may have imagined, that I would write to him to be put in possession; but excepting you, sir, I have no concern with any

one. If he should with-hold the whole subah from me, I will not write a word. You will be so good as to write to Mr. Marriott what seems proper to you on this subject, and know why he acts contrary to the treaty. Hereafter I shall not write you on this head. I am ashamed to write repeatedly on an affair of such little consequence : it become you to give such strict orders now, that in future no one may do what is against your inclination.

In answer to these imputations, Mr. Marriott wrote the following letter to lord Clive and the select committee,

My lord and gentlemen,

Yesterday I had the honour to receive your favour, of the 29th October, and am sorry to find Sujah al Dowlah has made complaints to the right honourable the president, of great interruptions being given to his affairs by the gentlemen of the factory, which I cannot help thinking are without foundation.

As you have not been pleased to mention any particulars, I cannot reply to them, but at present am quite ignorant of any such interruption; and shall always be careful that Sujah al Dowlah shall never have any reason for making such complaint.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Randolph Marriott.

Copy of a letter from the president and select committee to Randolph Marriott, Esq; and William Bolts.

Gentlemen,

The president has acquainted us, that Mr. Marriott, has represented to him, your presence would be

be for a further time necessary at Banaras, in order to settle some businesses of the factory with Bulwanting, in answer to which, we have to observe, that Mr. Sage having been appointed resident there in your room, whatever business may occur should pass only through his hands; and we therefore repeat our orders, for your delivering over to him the charge of the factory accordingly, and repairing without further delay, to the presidency.

We are, &c.

(Signed) Clive,

Will. B. Sumner,

John Carnac,

H. Verelst.

In consequence of the final decision of the president and council at Calcutta, on the dispute between Mr. Marriott as chief, and Mr. William Bolts, as second of the factory at Banaras, the board have re-considered the whole proceedings, unanimously agreed,

That Mr. Marriott was highly culpable in renting the mint, knowing it was against the orders of the board for any servant of the company to enjoy any post or employment under the country government, and therefore ought to bring to the company's credit, all the profits that have accrued to him from the mint; but they humbly hope, in consideration of Mr. Marriott's general good character, that the company will be satisfied with the money he paid to the king, together with the restitution, and take no farther notice of the affair.

With regard to Mr. Bolts, they judge him highly deserving of censure for the disrespect he was guilty of

of towards his chief: nor do they allow him any merit in the discovery of the mint farm, as there is reason to believe he was too much influenced thereto, from his being refused a share therein by Mr. Marriott.

Mr. Marriott in the course of the proceedings against him, produced the following extract from lord Clive's answer to a letter of his to his lordship. This letter bears date the 16th July 1766, near Baghelpore.

"The advice you ask of me concerning the covenants is of so delicate and particular a nature, that I cannot with any propriety, take upon me to give you my opinion, since any thing I can say, will not have the least weight in a court of chancery. Indeed all the advice I can give you is, to give the covenants a serious consideration, and follow the dictates of your own conscience; for there is nothing else, that I know, which can give the covenants any weight."

The nabob had made a complaint to the board in the following terms: "Whereas the English gomastahs hold farms in the name of the factories, and give protection to the dependents of the siccar; by this means my government is weakened, and the affairs of the country are interrupted and prejudiced. It is proper you should give such effectual orders on this subject, that the renting of villages may be put an entire stop to, and no one may protect the dependents on the siccar?" The board in consequence, ordered, in consultation that none of the company's servants or dependents, or persons residing under their protection, should be permitted to hold any lands, ganges, rents or employments

ments of any kind from the country government: The order was evidently occasioned by the nabob's complaints, and intended to put an end to the disputes between his government and ours.

The government says, Mr. Marriott, in by justification, may include the king's as well as the nabob's, but the board's intentions regarded solely to the latter and my renting the mint, therefore from the king, although it may be considered contrary to the letter of the order, does not at all appear to be inconsistent with the board's intention, especially as no kind of disturbance or embroilment could be apprehended from it. I hope therefore, that your lordship, &c. will be kind enough to take this matter into farther consideration, and mitigate the severity of the censure you have passed upon me.

During lord Clive's indisposition, Mr. Marriott, laid the following letter before the board.

To the right honourable lord Clive president and governor, &c. council of Fort William.

My lord and gentlemen.

On receiving an abstract of your consultations of the 17th of February 1766, declaring me "highly culpable in renting the mint, as it was contrary to the orders of the board for any servant of the company's to enjoy any post or employment under the country government, and therefore ordering me to refund to the company all the profits that accrued to me therefrom. I immediately addressed your lordship, &c. desiring this severe censure might be taken into consideration again and reversed; as there was much difference betwixt the king's government

vernment and the Nabob's, in consideration of which letters, the above orders have been issued; and as no bad consequences had attended my renting the mint, or had I with respect to it interfered the least with the company's government, I therefore hoped this indulgence might have been shown me. After this I was desired to withdraw my letter, which I did, understanding it was not the sentiments of the board, that the company could have any claim on me for the profits that had accrued on farming the mint; but that as I had given it up, to the king, jointly with major Monro, without having the direct orders of the board for it; having neglected to inform them of this transaction, which was the day after my arrival in camp, imagining major Monro had done it, in his letters of that day; I should therefore pay the company the sum I had paid the king, for the farm of it, and had the permission of this board, to apply to his majesty for the said sum back again. But to my great surprize, when I came to peruse the general letter, I found the aforesaid censure had not been taken off and that you continued in your former sentiments and were only pleased to hope, that in consideration of my general good character, our honourable masters would be satisfied with the money I paid the king, and the advantages that arose in re stamping their species, an advantage I never disputed was their due. I therefore was obliged to desire my aforementioned letter might be eoterred on the consultations.

In consequence of your permission. I addressed his majesty, as he has not been pleased, as yet to order the money to be returned, I have wrote to him

him again and am in daily expectation of his answer.

You have been pleased to say that it appears by the sunoud, that the mint and cutlwally were given up to the company by the king; and indeed so this light major Monro and myself understood it, when we demanded possession from the king; and which we afterwards ceased to demand, on his representations, which I have before set forth, &c.

I am with respect,

My lord and gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed) Randolph Marriott.

The court of East India directors, in the general letter to the governor and council of Bengal, declared that, although Mr. Marriott accepting, or even soliciting an office under the country government is a violation of orders and the rules of our service; yet in consideration of the general good character you represent him to bear, we are satisfied for the present at least, with your obliging him to refuse all the advantages he made from his renting the mint at Banaras. He ought to look upon this act of lenity in such a light, as to induce him to be more circumspect in future, and shew his gratitude by exerting his utmost endeavours for the good of the service. Until we have had a sufficient experience of Mr. Marriott's future conduct, he is not to be taken into the select committee, on any vacancy without our express leave.

Lord Clive having long enjoyed a bad state of health, and being at times incapable to hold the reins

reins of government, wrote the following letter to the court of East-India directors, dated Calcutta December 12, 1766.

Gentlemen,

“ I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 2d and 17th of May, earnestly requesting my continuance in the government another year. My family concerns and parliamentary interests, important as they are, should not make me hesitate to comply with a request which does me so much honour, if the situation of your affairs demanded my longer service, or if the reasons which suggested to you the desire of my remaining here was actually now existing. The weak condition however, to which a severe bilious disorder has reduced me, requiring my immediate return to Europe. It is now a month since I have been in so deplorable a state of health as to be wholly unable to attend to business; and it is past doubt, that I cannot survive the malignity of this climate another year.

Thus useless as I am become to the company, and without the least prospect of recovery in Bengal, I cannot doubt you will concur with me in the opinion of the absolute necessity of returning to my native country.

The faithful view which I will now lay before you of the situation of your affairs, will moreover convince you, that the consequences of which you are apprehensive after my departure, cannot in all probability happen; and that every material object of my expedition fully accomplished.

Agreeably to my advices of the 1st of February and 20th of March, a committee of inspection has been appointed, for examining into the state of

of every department, and for establishing the necessary rules and orders for a general reformation. This committee has fully answered my intention. Your servants civil and military are no longer at a loss for an exact definition of their respective duties. The new regulations are now in force, and in a few weeks will be firmly established.

The licentious spirit of opposition and extravagancy so justly complained of in your civil servants, is now entirely subdued; the gentlemen are reduced to act, and likewise to think reasonably. Perfect harmony now reigns throughout the settlement; and all childish resentments are at an end: nothing remains to be apprehended; but what may result from the extreme youth of the majority of your servants; and this might have been effectually obviated before my departure, had sufficient power been vested in the select committee, or in me, to appoint some of the most able and disinterested of the free merchants upon this establishment, and to require the assistance of four or five other gentlemen from Madras.

We have not only overcome the most formidable and dangerous mutiny, that ever happened in this or any country, but by example made of the ringleaders, and more especially, by obliging every officer in your army to execute a contract for three years service, has given a stability and security to your military establishment, which it never had before. It is upon the best founded confidence I assert, the East India company was never so truly secure as at present, against military ambition and encroachment. Never before have discipline, good order and subordination been so fully confirmed;

and I am persuaded that a relaxation in your orders, at home, and a new degeneracy of your governor and council abroad, are the only probable, I might almost say, possible evils that can shake the prosperity of your affairs in Bengal

Our generosity of conduct, in restoring to Sujah al Dowlah all his dominions, after he had been reduced by conquests to the very lowest ebb of fortune, the great regard we have manifested to the King's support and dignity, by paying him regularly that tribute which was never paid to former Moguls, excepting in their plenitude of power and authority, and our resolving to pay the Marattas their chout are instances of our moderation and disinterestedness, which added to the uninterrupted success of our arms, have set our equity and courage in so fair a point of view, that all the neighbouring powers solicit our friendship and alliance. Upon us they depend for protection against any disturbers of the peace of the country, and at the same time, are under no apprehensions for our bravery because they are fully convinced that our ambition extends not beyond the maintenance of our present possessions, and that one of our first principles of government is justice. This being the true state of affairs, to what purpose shou'd I continue longer in a climate, which would certainly prove fatal to me at the end of another, and another year, I cou'd not leave your concerns in better hands, nor on a more prosperous footing than I now do. I shall leave in the chair the man I always wished to be my successor, a man whose inflexible integrity and steadiness are to be securely relied on, and I will use my utmost endeavours to
leave

leave with him a well-chosen committee, and to inspire into all the members of the council my ideas and zeal for the service. If the principles of all your servants be not such as we wish they were, the service must suffer; nor will it be in my power to apply a remedy, any farther than by offering you my advice at home. Every thing has already been done here that could be effected by me. The full completion of the great and salutary work of reformation must be performed by yourselves: and you may be assured, I shall, at all times, be equally ready in England as in India, to give every instance of my zeal for the company's interest, in gratitude to a service from whence I derive my fortune and my honours. I have the honour to be with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

(Signed) Clive."

At a select committee held at Barrasur the 27th of December 1766, relative to the assiduity, secrecy and disinterestedness of the committee, and their restraining the trade in new silk. Present the right honourable lord Clive, president, Harry Verelst, Esq; and brigadier general John Carnar.

"Divers frauds committed in the company's Calcutta lands, and pergunnah's having already been discovered, and there being great reason to suppose that many others of consequence to the company's interest, may soon be brought to light.

Agreed, That to promote and facilitate the researches now making into the management of these lands,

lands, we keep the pergunnah's, &c. in our own hands till the first day of the Bengal year ensuing, that our enquiries may meet with no obstruction, from the artifice, the avarice, or the interest of the new farmers.

It being of great importance, that the proceedings and debates of the select committee should be kept secret. Agreed, that to prevent accidents, no papers shall in future be sent from the secretary's office, or taken from thence under any pretence, except by the president or the secretary himself, and that all the other members of the committee shall peruse in the office such papers as they may want to consult.

As it has been the constant rule of this committee, to oblige all private views to yield to the company's interest, and as our honourable employers have ordered a larger investment on raw silk, than we are able to provide, whilst private merchants are permitted to buy up large quantities of that article.

Resolved, That in future all private trade, without particular permission of raw silk, specified in the company's list of investment, shall be restrained.

(N. B. A great erasure appears here in the original proceedings.)

That this our resolution be dispatched to the chief at Cassim Bazar and the supervisor at Burdewan and Midnapore, and also that we recommend to the president to grant ro pervannahs upon the above account, until the company's demands shall be answered.

(Signed) Clive,
John Carnac,
H. Verelst.

Select

Select consultations, 16th January 1767.

Resolved by the select committee "That upon lord Clive's taking leave of the select committee; in his lordship's minute on the occasion, he observes among other things, that as orders were received to abolish the salt trade, they must be punctually obeyed. Nevertheless he is of opinion, that on its then present footing it was rather beneficial, than injurious, to the inhabitants of the country; that a continuation of this indulgence, or an equivalent thereto was become necessary; and that he flattered himself the court of directors would settle some plan, that would be agreeable to the wishes of their servants.

Whereupon it was resolved that the society should be abolished on the first day of September 1767; but that the advantages which the country would have received by its continuance, should be fully represented to the court of directors. It was also resolved that as lord Clive had relinquished the five shares to which he was intitled in the salt trade, and all other commercial advantages, that an equivalent be assigned to his lordship of $1\frac{1}{4}$ th per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, to commence the first of September last, and continue to the first of September ensuing; and that as Mr. Verelst will have charge of the government several months after lord Clive's departure (viz. from January to September) he should draw for $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the revenues until the month of September, after he himself should have resigned the government.

Lord

Lord Clive after having declared his full intention not to engage in any kind of trade himself, disposed of the commercial concern which he held a partnership with Messrs Summer, Carnac, Verelst and Sykes, unto the new partnership of Messrs. Verelst, Sykes, Campbell, Russel and Kilsal, his lordship being determined to leave Bengal in January 1767, agreed on the 19th of September 1766, to relinquish trade, for which purpose on the first of October, he solemnly entered into an ostentatious engagement with the tools of his own power. In consideration of this great sacrifice, but in defiance of the most positive orders of the directors to the contrary, a select committee held the said 19th of September 1766 Lord Clive, general Carnac and Mr Verelst resolved to give lord Clive $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the revenues amounting to near 30,000 l. per annum after his lordship had animadverted on Mr Vansharts appointments as too great a burden on the company's estate

In reward for services past and to come, the select committee, also on the 16th of January 1767, resolved that the same commission shall be continued to Mr Verelst who had already been rewarded by the committee of the 21st of December 1766, consisting of lord Clive and himself, with an additional share of the salt trade. But as they had agreed for weighty reasons among themselves, that his lordship should receive this commission for nine months of Mr. Verelst's administration, they here extended this anticipation of their mutual generosity, upon his successor Mr Cartier who was then absent at Decca

The select committee said in their letter to the court of directors dated the 24th of January 1767.

You very justly consider the inland trade as the foundation of, all the bloodshed, massacres and and confusion which have happened in Bengal of late years. Yet they call in the same letter this trade, the best method of rewarding faithful services, and the sure remains to excite zeal, they warmly expostulated with the court of directors, on the propriety of this stripping their servants of all their advantages, and further insinuated, that gratitude for affluence in service, and for an independency at the close thereof, will be found the strongest ties, or motives to the faithful discharge of their duty. They further observed, that if they were to deviate from lord Clive's plan delivered on a minute of the 16th, it must proceed not from ignorance, but from inelination; and that they shall become in all respects accountable for the consequence. This is the last public letter which lord Clive signed.

The copy of the following letter from colonel Richard Smith, to the select committee at Calcutta dated Illahabad 19th May, 1769, gives an idea of lord Clive's maxims of government.

To the honourable Harry Verelst, Esq. President
and the gentlemen of the select committee.

Gentlemen,

I had the honour to address the president under date of the 25th ultimo, which doubtless has been laid before you, and I now inclose a * shukah from
the

the king, and a letter from the Vizier, both addressed to the president.

“ From my long and intimate connection
 “ with the grandees of Hindostan, I am apt to sus-
 “ pect all their actions. The unexpected re-
 “ ciliation between the king and the vizier, and his
 “ majesty's sudden journey to Heyrabad, were e-
 “ vents that appeared to me fraught with con-
 “ sequences, as will appear by my letter of the 8th
 “ February to the president, and of the 12th of
 “ that month to the select committee.

“ I must remark, that whilst the deputies were
 “ here, the king expressed his surprize to them,
 “ that notwithstanding four years were elapsed, he
 “ had not yet received an answer from the king of
 “ England. You doubtless are informed, that
 “ under this pretext our former president, lord
 “ Clive eluded his majesty's solicitations for an or-
 “ der to conduct him to his capital, and I suppose
 “ you are also acquainted with the letters and pre-
 “ sents which lord Clive carried from the king to
 “ our Sovereign. The Emperor has oftentimes
 “ questioned me on this subject, and so receive
 “ no answer from the king, or lord Clive is, to him,
 “ matters of much astonishment.—But a few
 “ days since, his majesty again introduced this
 “ subject, and observed to me, that his not hear-
 “ ing from the king of England was to him con-
 “ viction, that he never intended to assist him in
 “ the re-establishment of his affairs. “ I plainly
 “ told,” (says he) “ that you will not march from
 “ hence, and it is impossible for me long to re-
 “ main here, with my hands before me,” at the
 same

" same time crossing his hands as if bound.—
 " must own, that I have often been puzzled for a
 " proper reply, for it is in vain saying, that we wait
 " for orders, since his majesty one day asked me, by
 " whose orders our forces first came to Illahabad?
 " and remarked, that those who had the power to
 " advance their army so far, had also the power to
 " assist him, if they had but the inclination. I re-
 " late these particulars only that you may perceive
 " the king's earnest desire to march towards his
 " capital; and that you may also perceive he be-
 " gins to see plainly, that we do not mean to car-
 " ry him thither ourselves—Disappointed in the
 " hopes he placed on us, rather than forego his fa-
 " vourite project, he seems determined to em-
 " brace the present opportunity of making the at-
 " tempt by means of his own subjects; and per-
 " haps the measures now pursuing will best ex-
 " plain the late extraordinary marks of civility
 " from the king to the vizier, and the vizier's sub-
 " missive return of obedience and attention to his
 " sovereign.

" The king and vizier on this occasion, have ac-
 " ted openly towards me. I was sent for into the
 " presence, where the engagements which the
 " king had required of the vizier, and the vizier's
 " petition to the king, were produced. At my
 " request copies were given to me, which I now
 " inclose to you

" I have never found myself in a situation
 " which required a more delicate conduct. The
 " very extensive power which the king has agreed
 " to delegate to the vizier, as an encouragement
 " to the undertaking of this enterprize, alarms
 Vol. II. Y y " me;

“ me ; yet where is the remedy ? The company
 “ have positively forbid us to enter into any mea-
 “ sure for the king’s restoration, and you seem re-
 “ solved to recal the forces which are stationed in
 “ in this province. Indeed their residence here,
 “ upon the system hitherto followed, is utterly
 “ repugnant to the welfare of the company. For
 “ my own part, I have from the beginning, con-
 “ sidered our connection with the king as a mill-
 “ stone about our necks ; and that it would be a
 “ happy event for the company when ever they
 “ could honourably disengage themselves from
 “ this connection, and as the orders of the di-
 “ rectors, and your own intentions are to with-
 “ draw the greatest part of your forces from the
 “ king, it may perhaps be considered as more ho-
 “ nourable for us, that those forces were not with-
 “ drawn until after the king’s were marched from
 “ Illahabad. Many of my former letters have
 “ expressed my apprehensions of the king falling
 “ into the power of the vizier.

“ Those apprehensions are still the same, be-
 “ cause I know full well the ambition of the vi-
 “ zier ; but I have reflected, that this ambition will
 “ now lead him to a remote object, where even
 “ success will inevitably engage him into further
 “ enterprize, whilst, on the other hand, our for-
 “ ces will be collected within our provinces, our
 “ expences be considerably lessened, and by a pru-
 “ dent œconomy, we may have the means of sup-
 “ porting a war with reputation, should hereafter
 “ our own provinces be invaded.

“ Taking all these circumstances into consider-
 “ ation, I thought it not for the interest of the
 “ com-

“pany for me to make any opposition ; for with
 “what propriety could I oppose his majesty’s in-
 “clinations, when I knew, you were determined
 “to withdraw your forces ? Besides, since I was
 “convinced a separation must take place, either
 “by the king leaving us, or by our leaving him,
 “I judged it most consistent with the public good
 “to part with the king and vizier on the best
 “terms ; and upon this system I framed my con-
 “duct. In the vizier’s petition to the king, you
 “will observe an article which respects the wel-
 “fare of the company. I will do him the justice
 “to say, that he inserted it without any suggestion
 “whatsoever from me. But when I saw new en-
 “gagements made which granted so much power
 “to the vizier, I thought it necessary to guard in
 “some measure against that power, by binding
 “the vizier down, by a solemn engagement, al-
 “ways to exert his influence with the king for the
 “honour and welfare of our nation. The copy of
 “this engagement you will also receive inclosed,
 “and you will readily impute the mode in which
 “it is drawn, to proceed from my delicacy to-
 “wards the vizier, that no suspicions of his future
 “conduct must be expressed.

“As a declaration from his majesty, of his
 “sense of our fidelity and attachment, and of his
 “determination ever to regard the English as the
 “firm supporters of the house of Tchemour, may
 “in some future times be of use, both to the com-
 “pany at home, and to their administration a-
 “broad ; I have made such a representation to
 “his majesty and shall transmit his declaration
 “signed in due form in a subsequent letter. . .

" I want language to express to you the solici-
 " tude with which the king has requested me to
 " furnish him with two battalions of seapoys, and
 " a few Europeans, as a body guard ; and which
 " both he and the vizier assured me, was promi-
 " sed by lord Clive if he would undertake his
 " expedition to Dehly. He laid before me the
 " honour we had required by our attachment to
 " him, and the disgrace which it would be if we
 " should refuse so small a mark of our obedience ;
 " and it would make the whole empire believe we
 " had deserted him. When I referred his majesty
 " to the orders I should receive from you, he men-
 " tioned the fortunate day being fixed for his depar-
 " ture, and referred me to my knowledge of the
 " embroiled state of affairs in the Jaut's dominions,
 " and how much expedition was necessary : the
 " vizier too in private observed to me, that such
 " a mark of attention surely would not be denied
 " to the king ; that lord Clive absolutely made
 " such a promise is very probable from the inclo-
 " sed extract of his letter to me on this subject ;
 " but I would not on any consideration whatsoe-
 " ver give my consent, until I receive your in-
 " structions ; as at the same time I promised his
 " majesty should have an escort to the bounds of
 " the Herah province ; but I am sorry to remark,
 " that the king was much dissatisfied with this re-
 " servation.

" When I reflect that the vizier has several
 " french men in his service, and that one in par-
 " ticular is in his confidence, it is to be appre-
 " hended that if we recall all of our nation from
 " attending him, it will leave an open field for the
 " " astful

artful insinuation of our rivals without any check
 whatsoever; and as captain Harper, by the propriety of his conduct, stand very high in esteem of the vizier; I think he would not only prove a proper check on the intrigues of these French men, but from him we should receive true information of all transactions; besides having in our power to make such representation, to the vizier from time to time as circumstances may require.

From the advices I have received the son of Buttoosing, an infant of eighteen months, has been proclaimed successor to his father, but he only is an instrument in the hands of Don Strah who governs as regent; many of the principal Jaut's are by no means satisfied with the power he assumes; and whilst these intestine boils prevail the Raguepoots, the Marattas and the Rohillahs have already begun hostilities in different quarters, each endeavouring to aggrandize themselves at the expence of the Jauts.

Before I conclude this letter, I will offer it as my opinion that unless you avowedly oppose the king's march with the vizier, it was better to concur in what we cannot prevent, without perhaps subjecting ourselves to greater inconveniences by attempting to prevent it; if I am to believe the present appearances, the king is resolved to commence his march on the auspicious day, which is the 15th of the next moon, but although the terms are finally adjusted betwixt him and the vizier, such is the disposition both of the one and the other, that it would not surprize
 me

“ me if some new obstacles should arise. However
 “ I only mention this as a general observation.”
 “ I have only to request you will be pleased to
 “ send me your orders with all expedition, and I
 “ shall be happy to hear that I have acted agreea-
 “ ble to your sentiments.”

To the right honourable lord Clive, president and
 governor, and the council of Fort William.

My lord and gentlemen,

“ On my applying some time ago to Mr. Bolt,
 to desire him to bring the people that complained a-
 gainst my Banyan, in order that they might be ex-
 amined, and if he knew any of the inhabitants
 that had any complaints against me, to inform
 me, that they should be summoned likewise, he
 replied, he proposed deferring the examination
 of the Banyan until the board's orders were known,
 or I consented to the publication of his former
 minute, and that regarding myself he had nothing
 farther to offer than what he had already mention-
 ed in his letters to the board; except that the pro-
 fits which had accrued on his re-coinage of the com-
 pany's money, must be refunded and brought to
 their credit; and that there were complaints of the
 badness of the rupees that had issued from the mint,
 and which he proposed to assay. To this answer of
 Mr. Bolt's, I replied, that when I saw any convin-
 cing proof of the Banyans bad behaviour, I should
 have no objection to the minute being published,
 and repeated my request regarding his bringing the
 complainants, and that regarding the baseness of the
 metal

metal of the rupees, I never had had any complaints made to me of it, or I should immediately have redressed it, and that I know of nothing I was indebted to the company, they having had full credit for each month's revenues that I had received, in Banara sunnut rupees, the specie I had given the rajah receipts for each kist; and that if at any time the rajah's shroffs had not that specie by them, to pay the drafts they might have exchanged or re-coined with my people at the mint, and that any advantage of exchanges or re coinage I supposed I had received.

In this light, my lord and gentlemen, I then understood it was, but on farther inquiries, I have since learned that 304,875, rupees that were the company's have been re-stamped and re-coined; and that I have credit for a gain thereon given me in the mint accounts, amounting to current rupees, 7,536 2 0, which after deducting current rupees, 999 5 0, for eleven days revenues paid the king, allowing that time for the above sum being re-stamped and re-coined, the balance being current rupees 6 536 13 0. If you order it, I shall pay the same into the company's cash.

I am,

My lord and gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

Randolph Marriott."

The

The inclosed is a copy of the Particulars,

Sannut rupees re-stamped	—	—	190,000 0 0
Deduct charges, mint	2	2	250 0 0
Batta 2 1/2 per cent.	—	—	189,748 0 0
			20,872 5 0
		Current rupees	210,610 5 0
Sannut rupees	—	—	190,000 0 0
Batta 9 per cent.	—	—	17,000 0 0
			207,100 0 0
			3,510 5 0
Sannut rupees received	—	—	114,875 0 0
One per cent. gain in weight	—	—	1,148 12 0
			116,023 12 0
Alloy rupees 3 1/2 per cent.	—	—	4,350 15 0
Vizuary rupees	—	—	120,374 11 0
Deduct charges in recoinage	—	—	
Amay Piece	—	—	
Loss in melting 4 3 per cent	—	—	591 11 0
Workmen 4 0 ditto	—	—	3 0 0 0
Copper	—	—	98 0 0
			717 11 0
			119,657 0 0
Batta 8 per cent.	—	—	9,572 9 0
			129,229 9 0
Current rupees	—	—	
Sannut rupees	—	—	114,875 0 0
Batta 9 per cent.	—	—	10,335 12 9
			125,213 12 0
			40,015 13 0
		Current rupees	7,336 2 0
King's duties for eleven days, at 25 00 per month, sannut rupees	—	—	917 0 0
Batta 9 per cent.	—	—	82 5 0
			999 5 0
		Current rupees	6,336 19 0

The right honourable the president and council of Calcutta were not pleased to give their sentiments relative to the publication which the writer had proposed to have been made through the city of Banaras, and which he had referred to them; nor did they condescend to take any notice of Mr. Marriott's or the writer's letters, farther than by ordering both to repair to Calcutta, and deliver over the charge of the factory to Mr. Isaac Sage, at that time military paymaster; though at any other period the subjects of those letters would have been deemed of the most material consequence to the affairs of the company.

It therefore became necessary for the writer to give Mr. Marriott the satisfaction he had required relative to the proofs of the other allegations contained in his letters to the presidency at Calcutta; for this purpose it was agreed to continue the consultations, as Mr. Isaac Sage should be present. The following are the whole proceedings which were held on that occasion; before Mr. Marriott, and the writer were obliged to repair Calcutta in obedience to the order of the board.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Richard Becher, president at the Durbar, to governor Verelst; as laid before the select committee on the 8th July 1769, relative to the trade and state of the country.

Fort William, July, 1769.

At a select committee, present,

The honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president.

John Cartier,

James Alexander, and

Charles Floyer, Esquires.

Read the following extract of a letter from Richard Bechar, Esq; to the honourable president, dated at Moidapore the 7th May 1769.

“ I now sit down to put on paper my sentiments on the present situation of affairs in these parts, and to point out what appear to me as necessary steps to be immediately taken for the relief of the inhabitants : the cultivations of the country, and the benefit of the company, I must beg leave to remark at setting out, that my idea of the company's valuable possessions in Bengal is a present increase of revenue or investment with an apparent prejudice to future time, are destructive to the country, and not for the true interest of our employers. On this basis I shall found my opinion, as well on the present mode of providing the company's investments, as on the collection of the revenues.

Since the honourable company have been in possession of the Dewannee, the influence that has been used in providing their investments and under their name good, on private account, has proved such a monopoly, that the Chassars, manufacturers, &c. have been obliged to sell their commodities at any price, those employed to purchase for the English thought proper to give them. They had no choice of any country merchant; Armenian or others attempted to purchase, there was an immediate cry, that it interfered with the company's investment; this plea has been made use of in all quarters for private emolument, to the stagnation of trade and the oppression of the chassars, manufactures.

tures, &c. The latter finding no free vent for their commodities are discouraged from producing them, and it is certain that the quantity of Putney produced in the districts hereabout, decreases annually, and it is certain, that if the present monopolizing system continues, even the company's investment, will be reduced very low although all other considerations should continue to give way to it; so that even in that respect, it becomes good policy to adopt a better system, and when it is further considered, that the company are now the lord's of this country, and the revenues flow into their treasury with; me there does not remain a doubt, that it is for their true interest, that a plan should be adopted which would leave trade free and open, by which means only proper encouragements can be given to the ryots and manufactures, to raise and make the assortments required for the company.—I well remember this country, when trade was free, and the flourishing state it was then in with concern, I now see its present ruinous condition, which I am convinced is greatly owing to the monopoly that has been made of late years in the company's name, of almost all the manufactures in the country. Let the trade be made free, and this fine country will soon recover itself; the revenues increase, and the company procure as large an investment as they can spare money to purchase, and these purchases will prove a benefit to the country instead of tending it to ruin, as they now do to demonstration.

Gentlemen engaged in the mercantile department may object to opening the trade from an apprehension, that the branch under their management will be affected by such a step; it may hap-
pen

pen the company may be obliged to pay higher price for their goods, and that their investment may fall something short, this season by an immediate alteration in the mode of providing it. I say this may be consequence, although I do not believe it will, but even if it should, we ought not in my opinion to hesitate one moment in laying the trade open, the company paying an additional price for their goods, purchased with the money of the revenues of the country they are brought in, is no object especially when we consider the general benefit that will accrue from removing all restraints on trade, the revenues must increase as well by the additional cultivation that will ensue, as by the duties paid to the government by the natives, Armenians, &c. they will then be able to purchase goods at the first hand, which liberty they have been deprived of for some years, which has occasioned a decrease in the collection of duties on goods under the Pachtouie of Murshadabad, only of three lack of rupees at least per annum. The poor man rented that office last year at two lacks, has been obliged, to sell his house and goods to make payment of 170,000 rupees the other 30,000 is a loss on the estimated revenue of the year—this forms but a small part of the prejudice and loss that accrues from the present destructive system of providing the company's investment, but they are so obvious, that I think is unnecessary to say more on the subject, as to the objection that the company's investment will fall short this season, I must observe, that the late prudent resolution of the president and council to lay up a fund in their treasury, will remove that objection in a great measure,

was there any real ground for the apprehension ; but when the season is considered and the large sums that has been early advanced in all quarters, for the provision of goods on the company's accounts ; their investment must be in such forwardness that there can be no danger but goods, to as large an amount as the president and council wish to have, may be easily provided. I therefore must think the present, the properest time for removing a restraint from trade, from which just measure considerable benefits will accrue to the whole country, the fruits of which will be reaped by our honourable employers, in future without their suffering any present material inconveniences. The order issued by the board, to withdraw all *pervanahs* is a necessary step towards further regulation, but unless followed by them will answer no good end. While those employed in purchasing for the company can make use of that plea to monopolize for their own benefit ; the evil will still remain as bad as ever, only the advantage will be in fewer hands, whether the people are English or natives it signifies little, while the power remains, a difficult task it will prove to break through it entirely.

In my letter to you of the 11th of February, I gave it as my opinion, that the company should provide their investments, by contracts with the merchants as formerly ; I think so still, that it will be the only mode that can be adopted to prevent an undue influence, being used under the company's name, and will be a means of re-establishing merchants in the country, of which you are sensible there is a great want, and that having many credit-
table

table merchants and shroffs will be of general benefit, that is a subject you and I may talk of in course about when we meet my grand object is to have the trade immediately free, and I convey my sentiments to you now, that if you concur with me, no time may be lost "

The following copy of the petitions of Munny Begum the widow of the late nabob Meer Jaffer Ally Khawn, to the board of revenue at Murshadabad, stands recorded on their consultations

" It is known to all ranks both high and low, and to all my relations and kindred, that thirty years prior to this, Meer Mahomed Jaffer Khawn, when he was pay master, entered with me into the bands of matrimony, and intrusted me with the whole authority over the seraglio, in which no one participated, but all were implicitly under my subjection. After he was exalted to the subahdary, my power and dignity every day increased. I had the maintenance of his sons and when I accompanied him to Calcutta, the honour and dignity which I maintained, all the English gentlemen are well acquainted with. During his life time, after his reinstatement to the subahdary, I still retained my former superiority but when he found the approach of death, in hopes of the bountiful favour of the company, he placed my son, Nassim al Dowlah in his room, on the musnad, and took the road to eternity. My son also, through the will of the fate and the malignancy of his enemies, without regarding himself long with the pleasures of youth, finished the journey of life, and being succeeded by

SEPT

Seyf al Dowlah (who likewise in a short space of time washed his hands of this transient world) I proposed to myself, that if the light of my eyes, Mobarak al Dowlah was, with the consent and approbation of the English gentlemen placed upon the musnud of the subahdery ; I would undertake his education and inspect myself into his affairs. The case of Mobareck al Dowlah is this, after being born of Bew, a concubine of Meer Jaffier Mahomed Khawn's, according to custom, committed him to my bosom, and having brought him up for twelve years, the nabob Muzzuffer Jung, has now separated him from me, and has so far invested himself with the management of the business, that without a pervannah from him, no body can lay a hand on Aberley Corn. He dismisses the old servants at his pleasure, and appoints new ones in their places ; suffers no one to come within my court ; and is daily pursuing measures to effect my degradation. He has to my dishonour, published that Bew the mother of Mobareck al Dowlah, is appointed to the principal authority in the seraglio, and appointing servants, slaves, eunuch, and guardians in his own behalf ; he has usurped the management of all affairs of the household, and with a view to raise himself to the subahdary without mentioning a word to me, is endeavouring to connect Moberack al Dowlah with his kindred, by bringing about the nuptials between him and the daughter of Fazzel ally Khawn, brother-in-law to Mahomed Reza Khawn, born of a prostitute. You gentlemen, will please to consider with what religion is this consistent ? and besides what I have related, he has acted a part unbecoming a man of honour and dignity

nity, and exposed me to the infamy of the world, by artfully seducing from me the wife of Seyf al Dowlah, after his death, and committing her to the charge of her father Muza Messitch. It is almost a year since I have received the least trifle, in part of my allowance from the company, and when I demand it, he answers, that of the 600 rupees the company have given orders that 300 should be saved, and that he would pay me the balance as soon as the collections are forthcoming, in which case it is impossible for me to express the difficulty I labour under, in regard to my expences; and my servants are in the greatest distress. There is now no means for recovering the affairs of the household out of this situation, unless you gentlemen of council will please to appoint some Mutseddee to the charge of them, and suffer no one else to interfere. In the time of 'Najam al Dowlah, when he first came to the musnud, it was ordained that I should have the inspection and superintendency of affairs; but after my sons were of age to manage for themselves they had the whole authority. The reason of the nabob Muzzafar Jung's enmity and resentment is this: when lord Clive came up the country, he borrowed the sum of six lacks of rupees, for which he gave an order for payment on Muzzafar Jung: three lacks of which having been discharged to me, I paid it to Seyf al Dowlah, which has exalted his displeasure, and the remaining three lacks due on that account, as well as two lacks of the present arrears, he procrastinates payment of; and in order to sink the money for his benefit, he has bound his loins with enmity to the utter ruin of *my affairs, and to involve me in disgrace and contempt*.

tempt You will please to consider, gentlemen, what the nabob Suba Jung (lord Clive) assigned for the support of my honour and credit, who is he that counteracts and opposes his decrees? As I am acquainted with the affairs of the household, fearful of discovery, he has placed me in obscurity, and appointed ignorant people to authority, who have lengthened the hand of usurpation upon the treasure and jewels. The reason that I have not before represented my situation is, the nabob Muz-zufer Jung's accompanying Mr. Bacher, when he came to visit me, by which means I was deprived of an opportunity of speaking with him but since to my good fortune, some gentlemen who are now arrived in their visit administered me comfort, I esteem it the luckiest of moments and after having sent a way Mabereck al Dowlah, who at other times never came near me, and only accompanied the gentlemen at the incitement of my enemies, I revealed to them particularly the uneasiness of my heart For your information, I have likewise now wrote to you the particulars of my case, in hopes that you would yield me redress, otherwise I swear by God and Jesus Christ, that I will leave Murshadabad to go to the committee because living in this disgrace is worse than death "

Translation of an address from the same dowager to the board of revenues.

" Since I have wrote to you a representation of my case, a late extraordinary oppression has happened to me the three markets where I received the established duties, and which have belonged

to me ever since lord Clive Mr Vansittart, major Adams, general Carnac and other English sirdars The Nabob Muzzafer Jung has now usurped These Mahals I held from the company and their sirdars, to whom my life and property belong. Then who is he who can forcibly deprive me of them? It is from you, gentlemen, that I can expect redress for my grievances, and to be rescued from the oppressive hands of my enemies. Agreed, that the Naib Subahdar be requested to deliver in an answer on the different points the dowager's two petitions treat of, when we will come to a resolution of settling for her, an allowance suitable to her dignity and station, and of obtaining her redress in any other points that may appear to be really grievances.

Mr Bolts in his address to the president and council of Calcutta animadverts severely on the covenants enjoined to the servants of the company, according to lord Clive's new regulations.

"When I was," says he, "employed as second of the council at Banaras, the covenants restricting the receipts of presents were sent up there to be executed. It was at a time when the servants civil and military, were universally disgusted at the proceedings of the committee, called select, in so much as to have hazarded even the very being of the company in Hindostan. I heard at this very time from the best authority, that many gentlemen of the council, with some of the principal officers in the army, particularly general John Carnac and captain Archibald Swinton, had resolved not to sign the said covenants, and it was also expected, that those covenants would be countermanded by order

order of the court of directors. Agitated by the general discontent, and in the warmth of passion, I solemnly swear, I never would sign the covenants, in question. Soon after I heard, that the gentlemen of the council and of the army excepted captain Swinton, and for some time general Carnac, had actually signed and resolved to sign the said covenants, although captain Swinton in particular, as was publickly known to lord Clive and general Carnac, did never sign them, though still continuing in the company's service, and having, both he and general Carnac at that time received considerable presents from the country princes.

Finding then, that of necessity I must either sign the covenants, or resign the honourable company's service, all I was concerned was to keep the oath which I had rashly taken, and still retain the fidelity due to my employers. To avoid breaking the oath which I had though inconsiderately taken, I authorized and told my book-keeper to sign the covenants for me in my name, at the same time having them witnessed, as my own act and deed, and as such I personally delivered them to Mr. Randolph Marriott, who was then chief of Banaras.

I then did, and now do acknowledge them as my own act and deed, the articles of which I was resolved never to infringe, and as a proof thereof, very soon after the execution of the said covenants, his highness the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, while living at my house at Banaras, offered me a jagueer of thirty thousand rupees per annum, and actually sent me a regular pervanah or grant thereof, signed and sealed, which I refused to accept of; though I should have had as good right, as lord Clive ever had to that which he at present enjoys, or as colonel

nel Smith now present before me, will ever be able to claim to the two lacks, which notwithstanding his utmost address was forced upon him by the present impoverished Mogul-emperor, who at that very time was, as it were a prisoner in his camp.

Though I acknowledged this covenant as my act and deed, it was represented in the most criminal light to lord Clive by the insidious arts of Mr. Sage, who to screen his own perfidy with respect to me, endeavoured by every means to blacken me in the eyes of my superiors. One should not suppose that persons in respectable stations stood forth the protectors of the most infamous breaches of private friendship. My pretended judges entered on the consultations a very frivolous letter written by me, for a particular purpose, to Monsieur Gentil, a gentleman protected and permitted to reside at Fysabad, by lord Clive, general Carnac, and many other gentlemen in power by whom he was employed: there it was made the foundation of a heavy crime against me, though it contained only the Bezar news of Calcutta. The board was betrayed into a belief, that they can upon occasion resolve themselves into a supreme court of judicature. I was accused of caballing against the state, or administration, as they are pleased to call their own acts, and of corresponding with the country powers, for which I was made a prisoner and transported. The first charge is absolutely false, and constantly urged by a very iniquitous administration, against all who have the resolution to oppose their measures. To the second, I answer, that I defy any man to produce one single instance wherein that correspondence can be construed as a breach of my loyalty as a British subject, or as injurious to

to the interests of the company. Not being in the service, I was no ways subject to the bye-laws made for the interior government of the factories. I allow that my correspondence may some time have proved detrimental to individuals, whom it may have prevented from receiving considerable bribes, by their imposing upon the ignorance of those to whom I wrote.

Under the head of mismanagement, what I have laid to the charge of the president and council, the following facts will now and hereafter, sufficiently speak for themselves. The enormous baky, or deficiency which, at the end of this season, will appear in the revenues, will not be less than from sixty lacks to one crore of rupees; although from reputation sake, the artifice will be again used, of a farther postponing of the panna beyond the usual time, in order to appropriate the nally collections to the reduction of the bacteria.

The deficiency which will appear in the investment: which though originally ordered by you (according to the lists sent to the different aurungs) for one hundred and twenty five lacks of rupees, yet will not probably amount to fifty; while ten ships at least will expect cargoes, and be returned with almost half their tonnage unemployed by the company, and consequently lost to them.

The frauds, which in consequence of inattention to the transactions at the Durbar and Cassimbezar, have been introduced to the detriment of the company's affairs; as now under the inspection of the deputies lately sent.

Barracks, which have been charged to the company at five times their real worth.

Out

Our charges on timber on other places, which article above stands on the company's books under different heads, rated at about fifteen lacs; for which there is not existing the intrinsic worth of three lacs. Besides the iniquitous frauds and mismanagement in the revenues, which will hereafter appear to have passed unnoticed, and which upon a future occasion I will undertake to point out.

The scarcity of silver, and the injudicious introduction of a base gold coin, which already by the rise of batta, has become a tax upon the fortunes of every inhabitant (now universally clamorous) equivalent at least to eleven per cent. A grievance under which the poor are more particularly oppressed, and which, if better management be not speedily exerted, will daily increase, and in the end terminate in a loss, to the honourable company, of at least ten or fifteen lack of rupees.

Under the head of the illegal administration of justice. In the management of the collections, while in some places the utmost remissness is shewn, in others the exactions of the harpies employed are carried on with such oppression, particularly towards the poor, that parents have been forced to sell their children to satisfy the demands made on them on this head. In the provision of the company's investment, the rigorous and oppressive measures taken with the manufacturers, in some places have occasioned winders of raw silk, to cut off their thumbs, to prevent them being forced to work; in other places weavers have been, by the company's agents, publicly flogged through the town, and deprived in the most ignominious and cruel manner of what is most valuable to them, their casts, for having only dared to sell in the

Bezar a few pieces of cloth of their own manufacturing or providing, and the said English agents, in order to screen themselves, have after all transferred these unhappy people to the nabob's officers for further punishment. Deballs who have had obligatory bonds forced from them, not to furnish their cloth, except to certain persons, at prices much below the market, and who have notwithstanding ventured to sell their property to others; when detected they have been by the company's agents imprisoned, put in irons and flogged, while large sums of money have been exacted from them by way of fines.

Under the head of committee's private emoluments, private monopolies have been established by the members of the committee and council among themselves in salt, cotton, piece goods, saltpetre, raw silk, sugar, &c. in which they have all been, or are more or less jointly or separately concerned. The first as to the profits, was the most considerable of them all, and was principally established and conducted by Mr Verelst under lord Clive's sanction, who was enabled to plan it solely from the foreknowledge he obtained, as a member of the committee, of the regulations which were to be established. The profits arising on those monopolies almost exceed belief, the concerned having bought at 90 rupees what they sold for four hundred, and making the poor inhabitants pay four rupees for the common course of things he would have got for one.

All those monopolies tended visibly to the ruin of the country and are infringements of the rights of individuals, they will be sufficient to evince that the usurped power of the council and committee is

a fund for the private emolument of the members no way beneficial to the company's affairs; It is unfortunate for the public and the court of directors, that the above transactions should have been done, occasioned or connived at by gentlemen in their public stations, who were selected to establish justice and equity, and to banish immorality, rapacity and corruption, on whom the eyes of mankind were fixed, as on titular saints expected to save a Sodom and Gomorrah from destruction.

All these and various other abuses in all the branches of this odious administration, gave occasion to the following new instructions of East India directors to their president and council at Calcutta.

It having been represented to us that the company may be greatly benefited in the sale of broad cloth, iron, copper, lead and other European commodities, by sending proper persons to reside at Rangoon, and to explore the interior parts of Boshan Assam and other countries adjacent to Gaolperah, and as you will know our earnest desire to extend the vent of the staples of this kingdom to as great a degree as possible, we are surprised you have not already made an attempt to procure the best accounts possible, and give us your opinion thereon.

On comparing the once flourishing state of the commerce of Bengal, with the gradual decline it has undergone for several years past, it gives us the greatest concern that so unhappy a change should have happened under our government, and at a time when our influence over the whole country was sufficiently established to enable our servants to

to remove every visible source of this unnatural decay. Hence we have been led to the most serious enquiries and investigation of the various causes which may have produced such fatal effects, and as in this research there have arisen to our view many evils which must have brought on the present declining state of the country, we shall here point out such remedies as we deem equally necessary and effectual for restoring Bengal to its former vigour, and to the full exercise and circulation of that commerce, from which the company, as well as the kingdom itself, had received such great and manifest advantages.

As freedom in trade is necessarily productive of its increase, the mode of providing your investments by Gomastahs, must be a perpetual bar to that freedom which we are so solicitous to establish; we therefore hereby order and direct, that you revert to your former practice of providing investments by contracts with Dadney merchants; and in the conduct of this measure you must, by a general publication of our intentions invite as great a number of merchants to deliver proposals, and make your contracts as extensive as possible, being attentive at the same time, to the improvement of the several manufactures, and taking care that you engage only with merchants of good character, and sufficiently valid for the full performance of their contracts.

Though by encreasing the number of Dadney merchants, the company's risk in the advances it may be necessary to make, will be lessened, you must however require from them a proper and competent security for their engagements; as we can-

not consider the merchants being bound for each other, as sufficient to prevent the losses we may be subject to by the failure of particular persons. It is no less expedient that the Dadney merchant, with whom you may contract, be liable and agree to such penalties as have been customary, or may be requisite, for securing to the company the full and timely delivery of the goods they shall engage to provide, and for preventing any obasement in the quality, or a deficiency in the measure thereof and these merchants must also be bound, under proper penalties, not to purchase, or provide for any person whatsoever, such sorts and species of goods and manufactures as they shall contract to supply for your investment.

Upon the revival of the ancient mode of providing investments by Dadney merchants, you may not for some time at least, be able to procure from them such a quantity of goods as our occasions may require, you are in such a case to open your warehouses, for ready money purchasers of such articles as may be wanted to supply the deficiency of your contracts, and may be fit and proper for the European market, but as we are apprehensive that such purchases may furnish us with goods of the common assortments only, you must be attentive to secure, by your contracts, as large a provision as possible of the best and approved fabrics, to this injunction, we are not only led by present necessity, but we assure ourselves, that by such means the manufactures of Bengal will soon be restored to their former degree of fineness and estimation, so that our ships may not as of late, be returned to us with deprecated fabrics, some of which have

have scarce produced their original costs, and in these important objects, we hope, and trust, that your regard for our interests will engage you to pursue such measures as shall be most likely to promote our views and assist our designs for the benefit of the country, as well as the company's commerce.

As the aim of our orders for removing from the Aurungs, the company's gomastahs, and agents of any denomination, is to relieve the weavers and manufactures, who have long groaned under the oppression of such petty tyrants, we earnestly recommend to you to consider and apply the most effectual means to prevent the gomastahs and agents of any persons, under our jurisdiction, from exercising the like abuses, exactions and extortions as we have reason to fear have been committed by persons under sanction of the company's name. You are also by maintaining a due execution of justice in the several courts throughout the provinces, to afford the oppressed natives all such relief as may encourage them to pursue with alacrity their several occupations, and by convincing them of the benefits of our influence, excite them to recompense, by their industry the attention of their benefactors.

As it is impossible for us to be minutely informed of the regulations established by the constitution of the country, for the security of the persons and property of the native inhabitants, it must therefore rest on your local knowledge, to judge of the internal policy and if the executive parts of justice be defective in any point, or too confined to yield that universal relief which we are desirous to obtain for every

every individual. In case the means should not be equal to this ; and you must not fail to employ your influence with the government, to supply all defects, and to institute such inferior orders of magistracy as may be wanting for the entire protection of all ranks and degrees of the people.

Should the superior courts in the several districts require any reform, your own judgment will suggest to you the means, and your humanity will excite your efforts for preventing any abuses or negligences in the due course of justice ; we must however, particularly recommend, that all power of the judges, in imposing arbitrary fines, be immediately abolished, and it will be proper that the Sunnuds appointing judges for the Mahomeddars, or Bramins for the Hindoos, be registered in form ; and that a record be made of the sentences in the nabob's courts ; one copy to be kept in the cutchery, and another transmitted to Murshadabad.

As it may happen that the processes of the courts, while they aim at the remedy of one evil, may be productive of another, you must enjoin our servants, wherever they shall be stationed, to recommend in all matters of property between the natives, that they adjust their differences by arbitration, instead of legal suits, which may involve both parties in trouble and expence. And having reason to apprehend, that the abuses of the country courts, in requiring the different parties to give security for the payment of chout, on the adjustment of disputes by arbitration, have tended greatly to discourage the mode of deciding differences, you must use your influence with the government for

for the abolition of the chout, enacted by the courts in cases of arbitration.

From a conviction, that the most effectual means to restore and invigorate the trade of Bengal, will be the opening of every proper channel for its extension, and giving it that general freedom which is so necessary to encourage the industry, and attract the attention of the natives, we can no longer permit our servants, of any rank or station whatever, to enjoy the privilege of dustucks. And here when we speak of dustucks you are to understand; not only dustucks, but perrannahs, orders, letters, or any other powers or favours which may be conferred; or which can in any way yield an influence or superiority in favour of one more than another, and this without the least distinction to nation or complexion.

It is therefore our pleasure, that all dustucks be immediately withdrawn, and that native merchants as well as Europeans, under our protection, may have every excitement to extend their views to the increase of that commerce which we have reason to fear, has been long languishing under those discouragements which the privileges of our servants have enabled them to lay on the general circulation of trade.

Persuaded as we are, that the internal traffic of Bengal has received farther checks from the duties which are levied, and the exactions which are imposed at petty chokeys, we positively direct that no such chokeys be suffered to continue, on any pretence whatever, to impede the course of commerce from one part of the provinces to another.

It is however necessary, that the nine general chockeys which have been established for collecting the duties payable to the sircar, should remain, and those only, and that a person on the part of the nabob should reside at each chockey, to receive the usual and established tolls, and that one or more of our civil servants, on behalf of the company, as dewans, should be stationed at each chockey to superintend the receipts, keep proper registers of all collections, and take care that no impositions or irregularities be committed and you are to give the most peremptory and positive orders for their sending to the presidency monthly accounts of the collections, minutely specifying the names of the several persons who may pay the duties, the number of boats, the quality and quantity of the goods, the name of the person to whom such goods belong, the day of payment, and the time such cargo goes a sea detained, and when dispatched, with a full and ample state of all transactions whatever. These accounts are to be transmitted within ten days, after the expiration of each month, to the board of revenue, who are to superintend their conduct, and from time to time give them such directions as they shall think necessary.

As we understand, that the subjects of other European nations though they claim a right to dusticks, have constantly paid a constant regulated toll at the general chockeys, the accustomed duties must be collected from them, by the government in the manner hitherto practised, for it is our positive injunction, that no extraordinary tolls be levied, and no obstructions or unnecessary delays

lays be given to their passage; so that they may not have any just cause to complain of arbitrary proceedings, or any undue exercise of our power as dewans.

With respect to the natives and all those under our jurisdiction, we further direct that no oppressions or impediments be laid on their traffic up and down the river; but that upon their conforming to ancient customs and paying the established duties, the passage of their goods be facilitated by all possible dispatch.

Sensible that the abolition of the dustucks may deprive some of our servants of advantages, which they may not have forfeited by any abuse of such privilege, we shall not be inattentive to some proper means of extending our favour to them. We therefore direct, that for all duties which may be paid by our servants of the several ranks to which we before allowed the use of dustucks, certificates be granted them by the collectors at the established chockeys; and upon their making affidavit, that the goods on which such imports were levied were on their own account, and not directly or indirectly the property of any other person whatever, you are to transmit to us an account, for one year, of all such certificates, distinguished under the different ranks and denominations of our respective servants; the better to enable us to judge what gratifications may be proper to bestow, as an incitement to their diligence, and to the faithful discharge of their several duties.

Another means to revive the drooping commerce of Bengal, is to establish a free intercourse with the more distant princes and the territories of Sujah

Dowlah, and here we are led to remark, that as by the eight article of our treaty with that Sublahar in 1765, it had been stipulated, that the company should have a trade duty free throughout the whole of his dominions, the canceling of that article, by a general prohibition of any further trade to his country, appears to have been equally unadvised and unnecessary. This prohibition is the more extraordinary, as we no where find that Sujah al Dowlah had ever requested you so to do, or even intimated any complaint of the abuse of that article, but what was of a private nature, and might have been obviated by the authority of our president and council, without having recourse to a remedy so impolitic and pernicious, as depriving the company of the advantages which were to be expected from a free trade to his dominions, right information and experience have convinced us that all the ancient prosperity of Indostan did entirely depend on the freedom of dealings, under such restrictions only as were necessary to prevent frauds

The misconduct of our servants in this respect is aggravated by a consequential loss of 20 per cent. in the sales of a great part of our exports, and so far are they from having any plea of misconstruction of our orders of the 17th or March 1766. That they were then expressly directed to make the extension of the sale of woollens and European goods, the principal object of the eighth article of the treaty. We therefore hereby require you to revoke the prohibition which has been issued, and to open an extend, to the utmost of your power, that commerce to which we were intitled by the stipu-

stipulation in 1765, and which has been renewed and confirmed us by a subsequent treaty.

Convinced of the benefits which must result both to the company and the province of Bengal, from such intercourse of traffick, it must be your care, to avoid giving Sujah al Dowlah the least reason to desire the revocation of his grant, in a diminution of its effects in any one instance. And while our views herein are no ways to interfere with the orders we have given for restricting the residence of free-merchants to the presidency, we cannot apprehend that any abuse of those privileges of a free trade will prevent the subahdar from seconding our designs, and affording us an advantage which must tend to his own as well as the company's interest. And your purpose may be more easily obtained and better effected by proper regulations; you will recommend to Sujah al Dowlah the establishing of one chockey on the Caramnassa, at the frontier of his territories; and that permits be there granted, giving an exemption to all boats passing that chockey into his dominions, from any further search, hindrance or molestation.

When we advert to the encomiums you have passed on your own abilities and prudence, and on your attention to the company's interest, in the expostulation you have thought proper to make on our appointment of commissioners to superintend our general affairs in India. We cannot but observe with astonishment, that an event of so much much importance, as the death of the Nabob Seyf al Dowlah, and the establishment of a succession in so great a degree of non-age, should not have been attended with those advantages for the com-

pany, with such a circumstance offered to your view.

We mean not here to disapprove the preserving of the succession in the family of Meer Jaffier, on the contrary, both justice and policy recommend a measure which at once corresponds with the customs and inclinations of the people in Bengal, but when we consider the state of minority of the new Subahdar, we know not on what grounds it could have been thought necessary to continue to him the stipend allotted to his adult predecessors.

Convinced, as we are, that an allowance of sixteen lacks per annum, will be sufficient for the support of the nabob's state and rank, while a minor, we must consider every addition thereto, as so much to be wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants, who will continually surround him; or, at least to be hoarded up, a consequence still more pernicious to the company. You are therefore during the non-age of the nabob, to reduce his annual stipend to sixteen lacks of rupees: and this we have the greater reason to require, as we find ourselves subjected to the payment of large sums, due from the revenues of the dewannee before the company became possessed thereof, on account of the navy donation, and the arrears of that to the army, the balance due for the restitution to the Europeans, colonel Munro's demand of two lacks, the debt due to Bolahydass and the annual sum of one lack, for ten years, which we have agreed to pay to Juggut Seat: all which, press on us with such united force, that our treasures will be unable to satisfy these several demands without wounding our commercial interests and endangering our posses-

possessions in Bengal. Being once relieved from this load of incumbrances, the savings we may expect from this reduction will properly become a fund for military exigencies; which fund being solely applicable to the defence of the provinces, will contribute no less to the nabob's future benefit than to that of the company. At a time when every justifiable measure should be adopted for availing the public and the company of all the advantage we had in prospect from our possession of the dewannee, we cannot but reflect on the dissipation of a considerable part thereof, by the allowance to the nabob's ministers.

And here we must observe, that how great soever the application of Mahommed Reza Khawn, and his adherence to the company's interest may have been, his rewards have been more than adequate thereto: and as the business of the collections of our revenues, when they shall have been thoroughly investigated by the supervisors appointed for that purpose, will require little or no assistance from that minister; we must deem the continuance of his present salary as a waste of these resources which are become so essentially necessary, both for the security of our possessions, and the extension of your investments. It is therefore our pleasure, that the annual allowance of nine lacks, which he has hitherto enjoyed, be no longer continued to him. But as the minority of the nabob will make it requisite for you to appoint, as his guardian, a person of experience in the affairs of government, and of approved attachment to the company's interest; your choice must rest on Mahommed Reza Khawn, and you are to allow him, whilst

whilst in that station, a salary of five lacks of rupees per annum, which we consider not only as suitable to such a station, but as a munificent reward for the services he may render the company in the execution of his office

The annual allowance to Juggut Seat, as assistant to Mahomet Reza Khawn, has been drawn on our revenues, without the least benefit from his administration, for we are well assured, that he has never afforded us a single instance of service, his allowance therefore must be immediately struck off. But with regard to Roydoolub, though we cannot expect from him any services equal to his present appointment, yet in consideration of the part he has long held in the affairs of government, and his advanced age, we are disposed to continue the salary he never enjoys. But on his death, this allowance is not to be given to any person whatever

As the reduction of the nabob's stipend is adventitious and temporary, we by no means intend that the commission of two and one half per cent, granted to our servants, on our territorial revenues, should be increased by this alteration, and therefore the former stipend, of thirty six lacks, must still be deducted from the gross amount of these revenues. In like manner, no commission must be drawn on, the sums which may be retrenched from the appointments to the nabob's ministers

We order and direct, that when the navy and army donations shall have been wholly satisfied, and reimbursed to us out of the aggregate reductions before mentioned, such further sums as shall arise therefrom, are to be applied, from time to time.

time, to clear the balance unpaid to the claimants of the restitution fund, in such proportions as the respective claims may bear to each other, until the whole shall be discharged but you are to take notice that the principal only of the sums due from the firca are to be considered, and allowed in the payments here ordered

The advantages which must accrue to the company from the residence of the king within our provinces are, both in the view of economy and sound policy, too obvious to need any illustration, this object therefore exacts your most serious attention, and acquires every judicious effort, which can improve his confidence in our attachment to him, and thereby the better engage his compliance with our wishes in this respect

As this point is equally delicate and important, we recommend to you, to lay hold of the first favourable opportunity which shall offer for an overture to the king on the subject, in which we doubt not but your own judgment will suggest to you the expediency of representing all the benefits his majesty will find, from having the forces of the company nearer his person, and ready to unite on any occasion, in support of our alliance with him, without being obliged to march through territories of any one who may be disposed to take advantage of our situation, any accidental circumstance of weakness and distress To this plan, must be added, the ill effects of the continual drains of the specie in Bengal, on account of his annual tribute, which when carried beyond your possessions, must in a great degree, be lost to the necessary circulation,
and

and may prevent that punctuality in our remittances, which we have hitherto maintained; and may in time wholly incapacitate us from fulfilling the stipulations we are so desirous to preserve inviolate.

These and such farther arguments, as shall appear most conducive to the end, will, we hope prevail on the king to establish his residence at Raghmahal or Mongheer, or such other place, within the provinces as may be thought most proper for the purpose, and most likely to preserve to us that influence which is so essential to the company's welfare.

The political interest of the company make us no less solicitous to obtain, from Sujah al Dowlat, on exchange of the territories of Bulwanising for the provinces of Korah and Illahabad, now held for the king, as by such exchange, our frontiers would be more easily defended, a greater influence would be preserved by us over the neighbouring powers, and we might possibly be relieved from the necessity of keeping up so large and expensive a military establishment, as we have at present in Bengal.

We are not insensible of the difficulties which may oppose your negotiations on this subject. These however, we persuade ourselves, may in time be overcome by a proper attention on the part of our servants, and by their availing themselves of the circumstances which may occur, either in the situation, desires, projects, temper or wants of the prince, and we recommend to you to lay hold of every opportunity which may offer for accomplishing by a friendly negotiation, so desirable an end.

There is another object of the most essential consequence, which calls forth the utmost exertion of
your

your abilities; we mean the obtaining from Sujah al Dowlah the absolute cession to us of the fort of Chunar.

As we have experienced the strength of this fortress and are sensible of the vast importance, the possession of it would be to the company, you must use your utmost endeavours to acquire by friendly means, what could not be retained without violence. We therefore enjoin you not to leave unessayed any effort, which prudence can suggest, for obtaining from Sujah al Dowlah, the cession of Chunar Fort; but as our view is to acquire it by treaty not by force; and considering also the situation, power and influence of this Subahdar; your negotiations must be conducted with the greatest caution and delicacy; and you must strive, by every fair and honourable means, to strengthen his friendship and engage his confidence; nevertheless, you must not abate of your attention to all his motions, nor forego any opportunity to impress him with an opinion of our activity and power.

And here we take occasion to observe, that should we at any time obtain from him the cession of this fortress; you must not fail to keep in it a strong garrison of Europeans, under the command of an able and experienced officer, which such possession would enable you to do, since the security which our possessions would thereby receive, would admit of a reduction in our other garrisons.

Sensible of the difficulties which opposed your endeavours to obtain the removal of Monsieur Gentil, from the court and councils of Sujah al Dowlah; we approve of the delicacy with which you

you have acted towards the vizier, in your requests on this subject, but as we cannot see a person of the abilities of Monsieur Gentil, (a natural enemy of this nation, as well as of the company) continuing in possession of a power to promote the designs of France, and not be alarmed for the consequences of his influence at the Subahdar's court, you must therefore, lay hold of the first favourable opportunity to renew your request to Sujah al Dowlah, to remove Monsieur Gentil from his service.

From the tenderness and caution observed in your former applications to the vizier, we cannot doubt, but that you will conduct yourselves with equal circumspection on any future occasion, more especially as the other interesting points which you will have to transact with him render it essentially necessary for you to conciliate his affection and engage his confidence in our alliance, whereby he may be the more readily disposed to comply with our desires respecting other important objects, as well as the dismissal of Mr. Gentil.

Your representation of the distressed state of the surviving family of Serfraz Khawn, has excited in us so great compassion for them, on account of the present reverse of their former splendor and affluence, that we assent to the addition of one thousand rupees per month, which you have made to the allowance before granted to that family, on the reservation of their talook to the sole use and benefit of the company.

As the re-annexing to the revenues of the Surcar, the jagueer of rupees 22,000 per annum, which had been settled on Maharajah Durgenaram, has
reduced

reduced him to a state of indigence, we are inclined, from the like motives of compassion, to turn our view from that mismanagement which occasioned his present unhappy circumstances. In consideration therefore of his distress, and the services which his brother Ramnaraw has rendered the company, we assent also to the allowance of rupees 1200 per month, granted by you to the Mahorajah for his support.

In order to determine your powers for sending thome persons who may have intringed the rights of the company, or acted in defiance of the authority vested by us in our servants, we herewith transmit a duplicate to our president and council, a particular power or commission, under the company's seal for that purpose, and as you will thereby see how far our servants are justified in seizing and sending to England any of his majesty's subjects who may violate the rights and privileges granted to the company by sundry acts of parliament, we refer you to the same for your guidance.

To remedy several defects in the engagements which we have been formerly entered into with us, by our servants both civil and military, and by surgeons, free merchants, free maimers and others, that are now or may hereafter be employed by the company, or permitted to reside in India, under our licence and protection, we have thought proper (with the advice of our standing council and solicitor) to add some clauses to the covenants, usually entered into by the civil and military servants and free merchants, in order to restrain them from

assisting foreign companies, or supplying country powers with warlike stores, and to prevent them from remaining in India beyond a time limited, after proper notice given them to depart.

With the same view we have thought it necessary, that all surgeons and free-mariners should enter into covenants with the company, nearly to the like effect as the restrictive clauses above-mentioned.

But that all our civil and military servants and surgeons or assistant surgeons, as likewise the free merchants and free-mariners now in India, may be put upon an equality in their covenant engagements with the company, with those who shall go from England hereafter, we now send you such a number of covenants, as upon a calculation made, we deem sufficient to be entered into by the persons under the above descriptions that may be employed in, or reside at or under our presidency at Bengal. Upon the receipt of these advices and covenants, it is our positive order and direction, that each of the above described persons be required to sign one of the said covenants according to the rank and station he may be in; and should any person refuse a compliance, with this our order if he is in our service, he must be dismissed therefrom, and sent home, or if one under our protection, such protection is to be withdrawn from him, and the person for refusing to be sent to England, (and here it is needful to observe,) that you must enjoin each person to desire two responsible persons in England to enter into the following security bonds.

The bond for the governor is to be in	£	10,000
Each counsellor	- - - -	4000
Each senior merchant	- - - -	3000
Each junior merchant	- - - -	2000
Each factor	- - - -	1000
Each writer	- - - -	500
Each surgeon or assistant	- - - -	1000
Each free merchant	- - - -	2000
Each free mariner	- - - -	500

As the famine of Bengal though subsequent of lord Clive's administration, was the consequence of the system of monopoly which he had introduced, and which operated on the principal company's servants in Bengal some years after his lordship's resignation of the presidency, we shall here submit to the judgment of our readers the extracts from the general letter written by the court of East India directors to their president and council at Calcutta.

“ At a time when a famine was depopulating a country with which we are so immediately connected, and in the prosperity whereof we are deeply interested, we cannot but highly approve every well meant and generous effort to relieve the miseries of the poor inhabitants, by whom in a special manner, the calamity must have been experienced in all its dreadful consequences. And as we enjoy a very singular pleasure in commending those of our servants, whose attention has been turned towards alleviating the general distress, so are we filled with the greatest indignation on finding a charge exhibited against any person whatever (but especially natives of England) for monopolizing grain, and thereby aggravating the woes, and no doubt

increa-

increasing the numbers of wretched mortals labouring under the most awful circumstances which could possibly happen to any people whatsoever.

We are led to these reflexions by perusing the letters from Mr Beecher and Mahommed Reza Khawn, which accuse the gomastahs of English gentlemen, not barely for monopolizing grain, but for compelling the poor ryots to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest. It was natural for us to expect, upon reading the above advices, that the strictest enquiry into the names and stations, would have been the immediate consequence; and that the most exemplary punishment had been inflicted upon all offenders, who could dare to counteract the benevolence of the company, and entertain a thought of profiting by the universal distress of the miserable natives, whose dying cries, it is said were too affecting to admit of an adequate description!

You will judge from hence, how great must have been our surprize on observing, that upon a general charge of this nature having been made, and not one name specified, you never entered into any enquiry at all about the matter; and what seems equally strange and absurd, you, in general terms, tell the resident at the Durbar, he may depend on your concurrence in every measure that may tend to relieve the distress of the poor, in this time of dearth; and yet reject the only particular remedy pointed out, and recommended by him for that purpose; and on this occasion, we must remark, that whatever other expedients might have been applied, none could, in our opinion, have operated more speedily or effectually, than that
suggested

suggested by Mr. Becher, as totally prohibiting all Europeans in their private capacity, or their goastahs, from dealing in rice during the scarcity of that article. But as part of the charge sets forth that the ryots were compelled to sell their rice to these monopolizing Europeans, we have reason to suspect, that they could be no other than persons of some rank in our service; otherwise we apprehend, they would not have presumed on having influence sufficient to prevent an enquiry into their proceedings, in case they were hardy enough to attempt the oppression of the natives, or to monopolize the necessaries of life; for though these practices are at all times unwarrantable and very destructive, they were rendered exceedingly so by the unhappy circumstances of the provinces at that juncture.

We do therefore positively direct you to examine impartially the above charge, which we cannot suppose would have been made, if there had been no foundation at all for it; and we direct, that whoever may be found guilty of a conduct which appears to us so unworthy, be forthwith dismissed from our service, (or deprived of our protection if not in our service) and sent to Europe, as warning to all persons not to contribute towards oppressing the poor, which we are determined never to permit whilst in our power to prevent it, nor to spare the offenders, whenever we may be able to detect them.

The numberless complaints which you say you have received from the merchants at Calcutta, respecting the salt trade, and the pervanahs granted under the seal of Mahommed Reza Khawn, for a
mo.

monopoly of the trade for three years, exhibit a scheme so contrary to our expectations, so opposite to our intentions, and so contradictory to our positive commands, that we can by no means approve your lenient conduct, either towards Mahommed Reza Khawn, nr Tillac Ram; the latter of whom, under different zemindars, was, it seems, the man appointed to be the actual monopolist of that article. We are well persuaded that Mahommed Reza Khawn could not be so easily imposed upon as he pretends to have been, by persons who are said to have solicited the pervanahs. It is not at all probable, that he could believe the salt works were unoccupied, whilst so many merchants were even clamorous for a share in the trade. But supposing he had believed it, as he owns he was at that time in Calcutta, his plain duty was to have represented the matter directly to our governor and council, and not to have granted very extraordinary privileges to individuals, in direct contradiction to the company's orders, with which he was perfectly acquainted. But it appears to us very probable, that Mahommed Reza Khawn's undue influence had totally discouraged the merchants; and it is no wonder they became willing to receive back the money, when they could no longer indulge an expectation of obtaining any salt: but we observe, however, that they were as unable to recover their advances, as to prosecute their trade.

As Mahommed Reza Khawn had the express orders of the company, and the regulations of the committee before him for his guidance; we are greatly astonished that he should presume on such trifling pretences, to disobey the one, and to
totally

totally disregard the other, and it is impossible, after detecting him in such conduct, that we should any longer consider him as a proper object of that full confidence hitherto reposed in him. We have in this transaction the plainest proof of his secretly counteracting our positive commands, and we must conclude, that he will not scruple to repeat the same practices wherever self interest and a favourable opportunity concur for that purpose.

• It was highly unjust to condemn Mahommed Reza Khawn on this ground, because he could know no more of the company's orders than their ruling servants were pleased to entrust him with, who most probably were themselves parties concerned.

The diminution of the duties on salt is so very considerable, that we cannot but express our astonishment at your declared ignorance of the cause thereof, and although the result of your examination into the conduct of the Fouzdar of Hoogly, may in some degree, enable you to assign reasons for the great loss sustained by the company on this account, yet we cannot but be of opinion, that the perwanahs granted by Mahommed Reza Khawn for a monopoly, have so powerfully operated in reducing the revenue arising from salt, as to render it necessary for you to turn your enquiries to that quarter. The case is plain, and the deduction by no means forced. How it could be deemed so little worthy your notice, we are at a loss to conceive, or how you could advert to the fact of salt being monopolized under the express authority of Mahommed Reza Khawn, and not be aware of the consequence, namely, that he having presumed to trans-

transgress the company's commands, would also avail himself of his station, and screen his agents from paying duties, or compel them to compound with him for the same, to the damage of the company.

Solicitous as we are, that the inland trade in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, should be secured from the evils which would attend a monopoly of these articles, were the same carried on either by Europeans or natives, we cannot but be pleased to find that our intentions in this respect communicated in our orders, have been published by you. And as the instructions we transmitted to our commissioners will convince you how much we have at heart the absolute freedom of this trade (subject only to such duties as we are assured will be far from distressing the inhabitants, that they will be sensible of the superior benefits we are anxious they should enjoy under the influence of our government,) we therefore deem it unnecessary to repeat our orders on this subject, but we cannot forbear expressing our resolution not to suffer the least deviation from them, and should you find that any of our servants or others under our protection shall have counteracted our intentions in respect to the general freedom of trade, you are forthwith to dismiss them the company's service, or withdraw our protection from such Europeans as are not in our service. At the same time, we enjoin you to be attentive to the conduct of the natives concerned in such trade, and to use every means in your power to suppress all combinations and undue practices, tending to enhance the prices of the several articles thereof.

As

As salt is so important an object of the inland trade, we are highly displeased at your having neglected to give us a regular annual account of the quantity made throughout the provinces, and the places where the same has been landed, conformable to our orders of the 20th November 1767. This therefore, we expect you to do in future : and we further require you to transmit to us such an account for the several years which have passed since we signified our pleasure in this respect, that we may be enabled to judge what duties may be levied on that article, without oppressing those whom it is our aim, as well as desire to relieve.

We have received information that Mahommed Reza Khawn in the very height of the famine, has been guilty of great oppressions ; that he has been guilty of stopping the merchants boats, loaded with rice and other provisions, intended for the supply of Murshedabad, and has forcibly compelled the owners to sell their rice to him at the lowest price, and re-sold it afterwards at the highest rate, and all other eatables in proportion. And that although his conduct has operated in the destruction of many thousands of people, yet it has been overlooked by those in power, who ought to have prevented him from acting in a manner so inhuman, and so very unworthy the station which he fills, as Naim Dewan of the province of Bengal.

When we expected that the influence and protection of the company would have had such happy effects throughout the provinces of Bengal, as would have been to us a considerable increase in the revenues of the Dewannee, we cannot but be deeply affected to see ourselves disappointed in that rea-

sonable expectation : and to experience such a reverse, as now appears by the great diminution of these revenues, particularly in the province of Bahar. Indeed, when we turn our view to the flourishing state of Burdwan, and the increasing revenue of that province under the immediate inspection of our servants ; we cannot but conclude, that the diminution of the dewannee revenues must have been owing to the misconduct of those who have had the superintendency of the collections.

But, as we have further reasons to suspect, that large sums have by violent and oppressive means, been actually collected by Mahommed Reza Khawn, on account of the dewannee revenues, great part of which he has appropriated to his own use, and distributed among the creatures of his power, and the instruments of his oppressions ; we should not think ourselves justified to the company or the public, were we to leave him in future the management of the dewannee collections : and as the transferring the like trust to any other minister could yield us little prospect of reaping any benefit from the change, we are necessitated to seek by other means, the full advantage we have to expect from the grant of the dewannee. It is therefore our determination, to stand forth as dewan, and by the agency of the company's servants, to take upon ourselves the entire care and management of the revenues. In confidence therefore of your abilities to plan and execute this important work, we hereby authorize and require you to divest Mahommed Reza Khawn and every person employed by, or in conjunction with him, or acting under his influence, of any further charge or direction in the business

finels of the collections ; and we trust, that in the office of dewan you will adopt such regulations and pursue such measures, as shall at once insure to us every possible advantage, and free the ryots from the oppression of zemindars and petty tyrants, under which they may have been suffered to remain ; from the interested views of those whose influence and authority should have been exerted for their relief and protection.

While we were in full expectation of reaping all the advantage we had in prospect from the acquisition of the Dawannee revenues, and which were become the more essential point from our compact with the public, for a participation of those revenues, how greatly must we be alarmed at seeing the Dewannee collections scarce answering any other purpose than defraying the civil and military charges of our presidency of Bengal. Indeed, nothing but the most unhappy experience could have led us to suppose that the amount of those revenues would not have been sufficient both for the charges of your presidency, and supplying us with annual investments equal to our engagements with the public ; the expectations of the proprietors, the provision of imports, and every other demand to which the company is subjected. But what must be our surprize to find, that the collective amount of our revenues in Bengal, are so far from yielding us returns adequate to our indispensable occasions, that a considerable part of your consignments of the present year has been purchased by interest notes, given for the amount, notwithstanding you had received into your treasury for draughts on the courts

courts of director, sums equal to the whole of these consignments.

Whatever may have been the causes which have brought on such effects, the consequences are equally alarming to us; and as we learn from your late advices that the decrease of revenues, and the increase of charges, will not permit us to hope for a speedy remedy for the evils with which we are threatened; we cannot but turn our view to the commission which we have permitted to be drawn on your net territorial revenues; and should we continue to experience, that your resources are inadequate to the expectations we had formed of them, we shall find ourselves under a necessity to withhold from our servants those gratuities, rewards, &c. which we were induced to grant them, in the full and reasonable hope that their care and attention would insure to the company all the advantages expected from the possession of the Dewannee.

The directors were kept in the dark by the company's servants, in regard to the acquisitions made in the last war; maps of all the provinces were in the hands of lord Clive and governor Vansittart, with a minute description of all the powers who border on them, and an exact estimate of the product and value of the lands, whilst the directors who had employed surveyors at a very great expence, could not get the same information.

Lord Clive did an essential service to the company in curbing the spirit of conquest inconsistent with that permanency which is their object. It is evident, that his lordship in forming the treaty of 1765, considered Sujah ul Dowlah as the proper barrier against the Morattas and the northern powers;

ers and that his enemies might not take advantage of the weak state to which our army had reduced him, a brigade was for some time stationed at Allahabad. When the term of the treaty was fulfilled, and Sujah al Dowlah had made some progress in recruiting his forces, lord Clive withdrew the brigade, leaving only one battalion at the request of the king. This was in July 1766, but in October following the approach of Abdallah, and the earnest solicitations of Sujah al Dowlah obliged the select committee to order a brigade to be stationed again at Allahabad, intending however to withdraw it as soon as the apprehensions of an invasion should cease. and lord Clive in his letter to the select committee of the 16th of January 1767, recommended the withdrawing it as soon as possible, leaving a detachment of only one battalion to quiet the fears which the vizier entertained even against the king himself, who had invited the Morattas to cross the Narbuddah and join him, promising them our assistance in the execution of his favourite design of marching to Dehly. It is certain that the king, finding himself disappointed in this scheme by our non-continuance, was upon the point of throwing himself into the hands of the Morattas, forgetful of his true interest, as well as of his obligations to the English. That design he has not, nor perhaps ever will totally relinquish; but whilst he flatters himself with the hope of our assistance, and so long as he sees the strong support we are able to give him, he will ever be forming schemes to embroil us in the politics of the country. To deprive the Bengal provinces of one entire brigade, merely to allay his fears, or to feed his

his

his hopes, was a most pernicious concession. Lord Clive's reasonings upon the first stationing of a brigade at Illahabad, proved that that he was not to be duped by any ill founded alarms of the king or Sujah al Dowlah. The motive for continuing the brigade in that station, was to watch the motions of the Morahhtahs and other country powers: according to this principle, that the English are to maintain the character of umpires of Indostan. A principle that may involve the company in every war from Dehly to Cape Comrin. One invariable maxim ought ever to be retained, which is, that the company are to avoid taking part in the political schemes of any of the country princes. If Sujah al Dowlah's dominions should ever be actually invaded, the company are bound by treaty to assist him: but as to any ambitious views of his, sound policy should engage them not to interfere in, or be anxious concerning the quarrels, defeats, or victories of any Indian power whatsoever; for the more they dispute and fight with one another, the less will they be enabled or inclined to act offensively against us.

Lord Clive strongly recommended the necessary precaution of garrisoning Chunaogur, by suffering Sujah al Dowlah to introduce troops sufficient to have possessed himself of the place; the president and council of Bengal were guilty of a remissness, that in case of a rupture, might have been attended with very dangerous consequences.

Lord Clive was sensible of the advantages of peace, on which alone the manufactures and revenue depend; and that no success in war could possibly

possibly compensate the losses that would arise from the tranquillity of the provinces being disturbed

The instructions left by lord Clive in regard to the company's connexions with the king and Sujah al Dowlah, met with the general approbation of the court of directors

His lordship's opinion in his letter to the select committee was, that to march any part of the company's army to escort the king to Dehly might bring on the total ruin of their affairs In consequence of which the court of directors declared, that if any of their servants should be persuaded into so rash and dangerous a measure, they should then be responsible for all the consequences, and that they should be extremely jealous of every one high in their service, civil or military, who shew'd a tendency to such an expedition

The forms established by lord Clive at the solemnity of the prince, were by order of the court of directors to be in future observed and when the governor is not present, the resident at the durbar represents the king's dewan They did not altogether agree with lord Clive in the necessity of the governor making an annual tour of the provinces As the majesty and dignity of the government still resides in the nabob and his ministers and they only are known to the inhabitants, as the power to whom they are accountable Any great violence or oppression will most probably reach the ear of the resident at the durbar, who can immediately exercise his influence to get them redressed But if the governor carries with him in his tour, the authority of the state, it gives the subject the idea of a divided government It nevertheless

theless it is found necessary, the directors insisted it should be made without ostentation, or an expensive parade.

Lord Clive declared he had in his custody clear and certain proofs of seven lacs of rupees being paid to Cossim Ally to the company's servants for making the Mongheer treaty: and his lordship having acknowledged that he was possessed of some informations upon that subject, the court of directors requested that he would transmit the same to them, together with all the papers in his possession relating to the private negotiations of some of the company's servants, at the time of the revolutions in favour of Cossim ally Khawn; as also any other papers that may be in his custody tending to set those transactions in their true light. For as those proofs came to his lordship's hands when he was in a public station, they deemed them public papers, and as such to be transmitted to them. They expressed their astonishment that lord Clive should be in possession of such papers, and therefore supposed these examinations were taken privately, notwithstanding the court of directors orders for a public enquiry were express and positive.

This alludes to lord Clive's informations against the late Mr. Vansittart. In justice to the memory of that gentleman, we cannot refrain from expressing the mode in which they were said to have been obtained, by transcribing part of a letter which was written on the spot, and transmitted to
Vansittart upon that occasion.

Extract

Extract of a letter from William Bolts, at Calcutta to Henry Vansittart, Esq; in London.
Dated Calcutta the 31st March, 1767.

“Your banyan Rámchurn has desired me to forward you the inclosed letter from him, and to inform you of lord Clive’s endeavours to injure you. He says, that lord Clive frequently sent for him and endeavoured by threats to force him to give a writing against you of whatever presents you had received in Cossim ally Khawn’s time : that upon his refusing at one time, his lordship ordered him to be carried away and confined by seapoys, which however was not done ; his lordship upon a recollection thinking proper to countermand the order, that he was thus frequently sent for and threatened, but that he persisted to the last in refusing to answer his lordship’s questions. That likewise lord Clive sent for Cogee Petrosé and others for the same purpose, who were threatened, that if they did not give the required declarations, they should be delivered over to Mahommed Reza Khawn : that oaths were tendered to them which they were forced to take, and upon these oaths some declarations were taken, which they were forced to sign to.

Ramchurn further says, that by way of encouragement, lord Clive told him, “that he did not want to hurt Mr. Van, only he would make use of those things at home in proportion as he found it necessary, should Mr. Van make any stir against him : but Ramchurn says, “he is confident from what he has seen and heard here, that lord Clive

will only endeavour to amuse you till he has served his own purpose and strengthened his own party, having with that intention carried home every thing he could parcel up against you."

Lord Clive's system of government was to be supported by Mr. Verelst, his designed successor, and his select committee, which consisted of his lordship's friends and creatures. He had given them his final instructions before his departure for England, which they engaged to follow implicitly, with mutual assurances of inviolable friendship and secrecy, on transactions they wished to hide from the knowledge of the world.

Indeed Mr. Verelst had been for some time the ostensible director of public measures in the presidency of Bengal; lord Clive had been so indisposed in body and mind, that he had not been able to do or hear of any business. He saw nobody, and nobody saw him. All the blandishments of fortune, and the flattering honours of Eastern pageantry, could not give him that peace of mind, which is the attendant of a guiltless conscience and moderation. He was become sullen, taciturn and frightened at the sight of a red coat. One captain of an East India ship who had lived formerly with his lordship, with a sort of intimacy, having urged admittance to the noble governor's apartments, previous to his voyage to Europe, when admitted into his presence found him laying on a sofa with all the symptoms of wretchedness and despondency; till at last awakened from that melancholy with some marks of terror, he dismissed the captain, after a few unconnected words and an abrupt apology.

On the 25th of January 1767, his lordship embarked for England on board the *Britannia*, having it is supposed, by all the ways and means his lordship had devised, during his short administration, added to his former fortune the enormous sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds in cash, diamonds, East-India bonds, &c. notwithstanding his repeated declarations, that he would not add a single shilling to the appointments fixed by the court of directors for the support of his station and dignity. After he had been a few days on board he became serene and more communicative. His imagination diverted by the pleasing ideas of the splendid figure he would make in his native country at his return, with an immense wealth, the acquisition of which he thought, would never be scrutinized, dispelled for a time all the clouds of remorse and anxiety. On his arrival in London, his party in the direction had the influence to procure to his lordship the general thanks of the court, for the great services he had done to the company, in their new conquered dominions in Bengal; and though many proprietors were pretty well informed of the pernicious maxims of government his lordship had followed, the worse transactions and the fatal consequences which they were produce, were not yet generally known.

His lordship's agents and emissaries had been during his absence been remarkably active, in securing boroughs for his relations, friends and dependents against the general election. As nothing but a great loaded interest, could give him that weight and influence to which he aspired; he had given directions to purchase from the needy nobility and gentry,

gentry, all the estates conducive to his grand object of parliamentary interest, or agreeable to his lofty notions of stately grandeur.

Claremont that delightful seat of the duke of Newcastle, that respectable old nobleman, who had spent a princely fortune in the service of three sovereigns, attracted lord Clive's attention; and stimulated his vanity. That hospitable mansion, where many sovereign princes and illustrious personages had been entertained with equal profusion and magnificence, by the noble owner whilst he filled the first posts in the administration, was afterwards deemed too mean for lord Clive and his retinue. The purchase of the reversion of this villa was for a time kept a secret, and when this elegant fabric was pulled down, the modern house destined for the reception of the p—— of the East, exhibited more ostentation than true taste and splendor.

Lord Clive had during his late arbitrary government in Bengal given offence to so many gentlemen in civil and military capacities in India, either dismissed the company's service, or soliciting in England for that justice, which they could not obtain at such a distance from the seat of laws and equity; that his lordship was more than once threatened to be called to an account for his unwarrantable proceedings, by the persons injured. It is known, that he was obliged once to disguise himself three times in one day, to avoid the researches of some of his adversaries. In the mean time the late Mr. Vansittart, whose administration lord Clive had on all occasions illiberally vilified, was determined in justice to himself, and out of a
proper

proper resentment for his lordship's ungenerous attacks, to make him odious and despicable to the impartial world. These apprehensions, joined to the precarious state of his health, engaged the noble lord, to go to France early in the spring of the year 1768, to avoid disagreeable explanations, and to re-establish his impaired constitution. The French who were well-informed of his lordship's immense fortune, with all the outward complaisance and politeness made his lordship pay an enormous price from Calais to Paris, notwithstanding the great expedition he made, for every indispensable article which he wanted upon the road. No sovereign at his arrival in Paris had ever a more numerous attendance, of taylor's, hair-dressers, shoe-makers, valets-de louage, &c. than his lordship; one should have thought that his lordship could employ most manufacturers and tradesmen of this capital. Notwithstanding lord Clive for several days did not appear in public, many gentlemen and ladies rode in their carriages near his hotel with the hopes of having a sight of this extraordinary man. Several French officers who had served in the late war in India, and some who by his lordship's power, had been removed from their establishment in the Mogul and Sujah al Duwlah's dominions caused to be fixed upon the walls of his hotel divers pasquinades, severely reflecting upon his military conduct, his monopolies and depredations. A certain Abbe Mauger, who had been chaplain to Monsieur Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, had found means to insinuate himself into his lordship's favour and confidence. He acted in the double capacity of Major-Domo and *intendant*
des

des menus plaisirs de Mylord. He had, *carte-blanche* to write all the love-letters of his noble palion, and to form his seraglio composed of *les plus jolies qui soient* and a few ladies of quality who served as volunteers. But the reigning sultaneſs was *la petite Dupas, marchande de modes, rue St. Honore*, a young ſprightly widow, who thought no man would ſet a higher value upon her charms than his lordſhip. She vowed to him *un amour eternel et une fidelite a toute epreuve*, though ſhe was too reaſonable to object to his lordſhip's taſte for variety, and was glad to hear he indulged himſelf in tranſitory amours during his abſence. Her object was not, as the reader may eaſily imagine, his perſon, but ſhe flattered herſelf to obtain a ſettlement of five hundred louis d'ors for her occaſional ſervices. The abbe was in the ſecret with a young mousquetaire who was to appear in the character of Madame Dupas's brother, but was *lami du cœur* and her champion.

About ſix weeks were elapſed ſince the beginning of lord Clive's intercourſe with *la petite Dupas*, during which ſhe had received ſeveral of theſe little preſents *qui entretiennent l'amitie*, but, are by no means adequate to a ſentimental lady's favours. Lord Clive propoſed to leave Paris in a week's time, and to remove to the ſouth of France: Madame Dupas invited her noble paramour to a *petit-souper* at her houſe, before their cruel ſeparation. The abbe was to be of the party, and madame Dupas had alſo invited her lover, whom ſhe intended to preſent to his lordſhip as her brother. He was moſt graciously received by my lord, though he harboured ſome ſuſpicions of the deceit.

Madame

Madame Dupas did the honours of the table with all the graces imaginable, and tried to amuse her noble guest with all these *petits riens* which the French women have at command. At the desert madame Dupas, *a propos des galanteries de la cour et de la ville*, introduced artfully several ladies of her acquaintance, who had opulent lovers, such as *mylords Anglais* and Farmers General, whose generosity she highly commended, for having made on their mistresses handsome settlements. Indeed, added she, it is a duty incumbent on any man of honour, who has it in his power; and though I heartily despise a woman who makes a traffic of her charms, a person of character who bestows upon a man what is most dear to her cannot be too well provided for. As for my part, disinterested as I am, I should never have granted any favours, even to the only man I love (looking tenderly at lord Clive) if I had not a moral certainty of his lasting gratitude. The abbe, who had raised several contributions upon his lordship, and thought he had little more to expect from him, supported the argument of madame Dupas, with all the sophistry he was capable of. Lord Clive perceived the whole drift, especially when Monsieur le Mousquetaire concluded the subject, by saying that if any man of a rank ever so exalted, refused to make a proper settlement upon his sister, after an intimacy with her, he would obtain it, if not by law, by the sword. Lord Clive prudently seemed to coincide with their opinion, and desiring politely *de ne deranger personne*, went home in his carriage, which was waiting for him. The next

day

day he left Paris, *donnant a tous les diables la petite Dupas, l'abbé, et le Mousquetaire.*

He proceeded to Muntpellier through Fontainebleau, and though this royal residence was at that time of the year dull and solitary, the noble traveller found in that venerable fabric and its forest an analogy with his gloomy ideas. The court of France resorts there only once a year ; in autumn, and the late king used to indulge in that season his taste for his favourite diversion of stag hunting. Lord Clive thought this time a favourable opportunity for seeing every thing worth his notice, without ceremonial and difficulty, when none but inferior officers of the palace dwelt in it. He had cautioned his servants not to reveal to any soul living, who he was ; but the preying curiosity and interrogatories of the French conquered the scruples of his valet-de-chambre, who told Mr. Buffy's *maitre d'hotel*, who his master was. He had no sooner heard the name of Clive than he posted to the French nabob, who had a country seat in the neighbourhood, to acquaint him with this piece of intelligence. The immense wealth which Monsieur de Buffy had acquired and secured by an alliance with a niece of the duke of Choiseuil, made him a man of the first consequence in the kingdom. His long residence in India, and the correspondence he had kept since he had left it with natives and Europeans, in the French settlements, had made him acquainted with all the circumstances of lord Clive's fortune and elevation. Curiosity prompted him to pay a visit to a man, who was held in the same predicament as himself in the British dominions. He

came

came to Fontainebleau with a small retinue, whilst lord Clive was at dinner. He waited till the desert was carried up, when he sent to his lordship his compliments, desiring leave to wait upon him. Though it was observed that this unexpected visit was not agreeable to his lordship, Mr. de Buffly was immediately admitted. - He made an apology for interrupting lord Clive at that unseasonable hour, and invited him to his house; which his lordship declined. However, M. de Buffly spent several hours with him, and if the Frenchman's account of their conversation is to be credited, it was in substance as follows :

“ Buffly who was the declared enemy of Monsieur de Lally, attributed the unsuccessful attempt against Madras; the loss of Pondicherry, and the total expulsion of the French from the provinces of Bengal, to that unfortunate general's misconduct, avarice and obstinacy. Lord Clive replied, that he looked upon Lally as a brave and experienced officer, whom he thought deserved a better fate; that he was not perhaps a proper man for the first command of the French forces in India, as really the event had shewn, that ever since he had assumed it, excepted a few encounters where the French had the advantage, their affairs went on the decline on the peninsula of Indus after they had lost their chief emporium, by Mr. Lally's ill luck, or want of judgment. But, continued his lordship, it would be ungenerous to lay to his charge, all your errors and disappointments in Indostan. Mr. Dupleix's craft and policy had given to the French a great ascendancy over the country powers, whom he began to divide. In order to rule over them,

you forced us to counterbalance the arts of French finesse, (allow me the expression) by an army more formidable than either you, or us, had ever sent into India. In this mutual struggle for the empire of the East, we were more fortunate than you; and as rivals in arms, we thought our victories inadequate to our expectations, if we did not prevent your future settlements in the Bengal provinces.

As for making and deposing nabobs, which is the grand field of impeachment of my enemies; you know, sir, that Mr. Dupleix had for the first example, your principal officers as well as ours have received presents from the country powers; if the last time I had the honour to command in Bengal, I put a stop to this prevalent custom, it was because divers officers of inferior rank in the army, claimed the same favours as veterans; and I know an officer who has his fortune to make, will fight better, than he, who has acquired one beyond his sanguine wishes." "But pray," said Mr. de Bussy, "you cannot flatter yourselves to remain the absolute rulers of Indostan; all the Europeans settled in those parts know, that the nabob's are mere cyphers, even the Mogul himself, are the mere tools of your uncontrolled power and dominion. It is not from the Asiatic princes that I expect a revolution, but from us, the Dutch and the Danes, especially if the English government leave your East India company in possession of immense acquisitions, that they will not be able to preserve or enjoy. As for us, the trade to the East Indies is free and open; it is become a national concern, a fine field for adventurers, who may some day be powerfully supported by an army sufficient

ficient to assist the country princes, in recovering their independance and their territories. Believe, my lord, we have not given up India, our claims lay dormant at present, and we shall lay them, when we can assert them with the sword. You will confess with me, that we owe our settlements to the credulity of short-sighted sovereigns, our acquisitions to their jealousies and pusillanimity ; and no doubt, that the first war betwixt you and us, will originate in a country from which such wealth did flow, to mercantile societies. What I am amazed at," added Mr. Bussy, "is that no enterprising man at the head of a victorious army, has attempted to make himself a sovereign. I suppose the little reliance one can have on the natives, has deterred those who might have aimed at supreme power, from the undertaking. I acquired some reputation in India, and acquired thither a great fortune ; but you, my lord, have eclipsed in both all the Europeans, who have searched for both in those remote climates."

After this conversation, lord Clive declared to Monsieur de Bussy, that his intention was to travel incog and though he was excessively happy in the honour he had done him, he had ordered his servants to make him pass for a private gentleman. "I like this abode," added he, "but now that I am known, I shall set out to morrow and continue my journey to the South of France. Monsieur de Bussy having in vain repeated his invitation, accompanied lord Clive into the royal palace ; they walked into the apartments arm in arm, with the most seeming freedom and cordiality. Lord Clive having expressed a partiality for this royal mansion.

Was

"Was not our king," said Mons. de Buffy, "so much attached to it, I think he might have found a purchaser in you." "No," answered lord Clive, "you and me may perhaps be able to purchase the palace and the forest." Monsieur de Buffy having accompanied lord Clive to the inn, took leave of his lordship, with all the assurances of esteem and regard which the French are so profuse of; and lord Clive the next morning set out for Montergis, where he had an opportunity to admire the taste and magnificence of Lewis XIV. and the sight of the canal which is one of the most stupenduous works of this monarch's reign.

From thence his lordship went to Orleans, and when he was taking a survey of that ancient city a French soldier, named Jolly, who had been made a prisoner at Arcot, with a detachment of the regiment of Lorrain, knew him again, and saluted him, when on duty. Lord Clive expressing his surprize, the soldier said, I remember you very well, my general, ever since the siege of Arcot. On this explanation, lord Clive came near him, and recollected this man, whom he had employed as his *friseur*, and to keep him in the practice of the French language, whilst he was a prisoner. Ah! said my lord, I am glad to see you, Jolly; still a soldier! come to see me *a l'écu de France*, when you are relieved; we shall talk over our old campaigns. The grenadier overjoyed to be taken notice of by his old master, promised to wait on his lordship. Effectively he came *bien poudie* to the inn mentioned, and begged to be introduced to general Clive, by his lordship's particular desire. My lord who, had seen him from a window, at which he

he was amusing himself, ordered his servant to come into his apartment. I am glad to see you, Jolly, said he. And I too, answered the soldier, my general. "Have you always continued in the army and in the same regiment, since you was in India? Yes, my general. Now that you are old, cannot you obtain your discharge; or the invalids? Neither, my general, because I am still healthy and vigorous, and never was wounded in any action." Should you like to have your discharge? Yes, my general. How much do you think it would cost you? Not above ten louis d'ors; but it is more than all my relations are worth. What would you do, and how could you subsist if you was out of the army? By shaving and dressing hair. Do you follow yet this trade? Yes, my general. Do you save money by it? No, because I was never a stingy fellow, and I make now and then my comrades drunk at my expence. Have you a good character in your regiment? I believe no body better. Where has been your regiment since I saw you? At Quebec, in Germany, at Belleisle, and divers garrisons in the kingdom. I wonder as you can read and write that you never was promoted to the rank of a serjeant? I refused it, my ambition aspired never higher than the post of honour, a grenadier. Are you married? Yes. How many children? Two. Are they provided for? Yes, very well by the king; they are both soldiers. What is the name of your colonel? The marquis de Soulanges. Is he here now? Yes. Do you suppose if I was to offer him some reasonable consideration for your discharge, that he would grant it? Yes, if you was to tell him you would take it as a favour; and offer

to pay some money to enlist a man in my place. Well, concluded his lordship, stay here at supper, and wait upon me at table. He did remain according to his lordship's injunction, and stood during the supper behind lord Clive's chair, who now and then asked him questions about some of the French officers who were taken prisoners at Arcot. The next morning, lord Clive in person waited upon the marquis de Soulanges, made himself known, told the marquis the motive of his visit and obtained Jolly's discharge; on condition he should get a young fellow in his place. Indeed, added the marquis, nothing but your lordship's application could have prevailed upon me to part with him, for the king has not a better soldier in the army. Lord Clive related to the marquis, that he had known him ever since the siege of Arcot, where he was taken a prisoner, and that he had served him during that time with zeal and fidelity. The marquis only granted lord Clive's request, on another condition, that he should do him the honour to dine with him, which invitation his lordship could not decline. When he returned to the inn, he sent for Jolly, and acquainted him that he was free on condition of finding another young man in his place. Jolly having expressed his most sincere thanks to his noble benefactor, went immediately in search of a recruit, and in less than two hours time returned to his lordship, who gave him three louis d'ors which he had promised to the recruit, and three for himself. After this was settled to the great and unexpected satisfaction of Jolly. "Well," said lord Clive, "what will you do now? Go to Nîmes," answered Jolly, my native place, and settle

settle there in my trade." Every thing, "replied his lordship, is lucky for you ; I am going to Montpellier, which is not above a day's journey from Nismes, and you may save yourself the trouble and expences of a long march, in coming with my servants. Jolly was overjoyed at this new instance of his lordship's generosity ; only when he said he should order a suit of cloaths for him, Jolly begged earnestly it might not be his livery, as he was resolved never to wear any other after that of the king. Lord Clive could not help smiling at this instance of French pride ; but yet he thought it commendable, as it proceeded from a sentiment of honour. His lordship was magnificently entertained, by the marquis Soulanges, with some officers of his regiment : one of them who had served in India reflected severely on the English company's servants, for their insatiable thirst after riches, and the ignominious subjection in which they kept the natives. Lord Clive allowed the first charge to be true, in regard to several individuals ; as for the second imputation, he said that nothing but the fear of their power could enforce the subordination of millions, and answered every indirect attack upon him with judgment and good humour.

The next day, his lordship departed for Blois, and appointed Jolly, who knew all the towns on the road to the south of France, his conductor, in every place that deserved his attention. He had been equipped cap a-pie by his lordship, and made now a decent appearance. He had been often sent with messages from his colonel to the abbey of the benedictine nuns at Bourges, where the marquis had a sister, and praised so much
some

some ingenious works of these ladies which he had seen, that he persuaded lord Clive, in walking near their convent, to go in and satisfy his curiosity. The fellow announced his master the richest subject in Europe; nuns and pensioners vied with each other in exhibiting to his lordship's view all the products of their industry. Lord Clive was smitten at the first sight with the beauty, wit and engaging manners of a young nun, called Madame de Rochechouart, of one of the most illustrious families in France, and in the rapturous stile of an admirer, declared the sudden impression, which her irresistible charms had made on his heart. Not to appear particular, he purchased from her and other nuns, divers nick-nacks to the value of five louis d'ors. The young lady who had indulged her amorous propensity, like many of those sprightly recluses, by reading plays and novels calculated to justify *les egaremens du cœur*, seemed flattered with lord Clive's distinction, and as she lived with the abbess in the greatest intimacy, she dispensed often from the rules and religious exercises of the convent. The other nuns having been called for their supper to the refectory, Madame Rochechouart remained with the noble stranger, that she might know his sentiments and take her measures accordingly. Those who have conversed with nuns abroad, have had an opportunity to observe, that many convents like this, which are composed of ladies of quality, whose institutes are adapted to persons nurtured at home with care and tenderness, are in fact seminaries of love, and that the conquest of these ladies sequestered from the world, is more easy than the seduction of those
who

who live in it. Madame de Rochechouart offered to his lordship some refreshments, which he was easily prevailed to accept. He confessed to her candidly, that his intention before he had the happiness of seeing her, was to remain at Blois not above a day or two, but now he could not say how long he might continue there, since he was wholly devoted to her commands: With the preliminaries, some kisses were exchanged, and a ring of his lordship was the first pledge of his affection. I hope, said the lady, before they parted, to have the pleasure to see you to morrow in the afternoon at this fatal grate, when perhaps I shall have contrived some means to meet you with more satisfaction to us both. In the mean time, send your servant to me to morrow morning, for reasons which you will know afterwards. As this first visit had been already too long, she begged his lordship would not take it ill if she was to withdraw, which they did both with great reluctance. "As soon as he went home, he asked Jolly if he had mentioned his name in the convent; no, answered he, I only said that you was a gentleman of an immense fortune: you might have omitted this circumstance, replied my lord, somewhat displeased, and for the future I bid you, to be more prudent and circumspect, otherwise I cannot entrust you with my messages and my commissions. Jolly promised on the word of a soldier to be faithful, and to preserve an inviolable secrecy in any thing that his master would be pleased to commit to his charge."

The next morning, his lordship dispatched Jolly to the convent with a *billet deux*, having cautioned him before he went to tell the lady his name was

Journal Robert, in case he should inquire about it.
 He brought back a love-letter from his lordship's chamber, and entered on his office with all the discretion required. Lord Clive waited on the lady in the afternoon according to agreement, and as his frequent visits to the grate might have exposed her to censure and reprimand, without accomplishing the mutual object of their desires, she gave him the key of a door which opened into the enclosure of the convent, for the conveniency of the gardener, with injunction to take a survey of the place by day time. The convent being seated in the suburbs of Blois, the lovers were less apprehensive of interruption or discovery. The time appointed was ten o'clock that very evening, when his lordship resorted to the place of rendezvous, and found the lovely captive waiting for him near the door in the utmost agitation of fear and love. The two lovers indulged themselves in the raptures of stolen embraces, till two o'clock in the morning, when it was thought adviseable for his lordship to retire. These nocturnal visits were repeated several times, without inconveniency to both parties; the lady had urged several times, with all the powers of eloquence and love, her resolution to elope from the hateful convent, and to accompany her dear paramour to England; but all to no purpose, his desires were cloyed with enjoyment, and he was too sensible of the consequences of such an action to be necessary to it. However, he did not positively deny her request, and left her still some room for hope, whilst he intended to take a French leave from his dulcinea. The devil would have it, that the very last night he visited her,

an abbe, who probably was sauntering about the walls on the same errand, saw unperceived at a distance his lordship going out of the sacred door, which he locked after him. He took no immediate notice, but followed the gentleman unknown, within some yards of the inn where he lodged. Having so far satisfied his curiosity, he resolved to improve this discovery to his advantage. About ten o'clock in the morning, he inquired whether there was not an English gentleman who lodged in that inn, whom he recollected to have seen before. He was answered in the affirmative; "May I speak to him," continued he? He is not up yet, replied Jolly, and it is uncertain what time he will rise, as he went to bed very late. If you have any message for him, continued Jolly, I shall deliver it. No, no, answered the abbe, I shall come back in about two hours time. In the mean while, the Abbe went to the convent, where he had several acquaintances, to try whether he could get some intelligence to his purpose. He mentioned before some young nuns, that he had been in company late, and that he had taken a walk early in the morning around their walls, observing at the same time, if the countenance of any of them should betray them: but he could not distinguish any signs of guilt or consciousness. "Pray," added he, "how does Madame Rochechouart do?" I am afraid, answered one of them, that she is not well; for some days past she has not been at church in the morning; and I believe she is not up yet. The abbe immediately suspected her to be the person; without however intimating his thoughts, in going out of the parlour

lour, he saw Jolly, and heard him enquire from the maid at the turning-box, if he could speak to Madame de Rochechouart.

The inquisitive abbe, with this new corroboration of his conjectures, went directly to the *My lord Anglois's hotel*, and desired one of his lordship's servants who was in the passage, to tell his master, a gentleman wanted to speak to him. Lord Clive ordered his man to ask Monsieur L'Abbi his name and his business; my name replied the abbe is Dupont, as for my business *c'est une autre affaire*, I cannot tell, but to your master himself, the subject of my visit; after some hesitation he was admitted, and my lord having pointed out a seat to him, he made a short apology for his visit and the cause of it.

"*Monsieur par le Francois sans doute*" said the abbe, "*Oui Monsieur,*" answered Lord Clive, "*qu'y a til a votre service?*" As the majority of our readers, may not be conversant with the French language, we shall give an exact translation of this interesting dialogue.

"My character," resumed the abbe, "and the peace which happily exists between France and England, indicate no hostile intentions, I come here, to sign a private treaty with you, to which I dare say, you will readily accede, when you know we shall both find our account in the amicable transactions I am going to propose."

"My lord, with equal surprize and eagerness," declared he could not guess his meaning, and begged he would explain himself, as his introduction was a mystery to him.

"To

“To come to the point,” said the abbe, “What will perhaps still increase your astonishment, I am not ignorant of your connection with Madame de Rochechouart, which is the motive of your residence in this place; nor of the means you have in your power to get access to her in the night.” On this lord Clive, interrupting him, said with some marks of displeasure, “This is very extraordinary! a fine story indeed! What right have you, Monsieur l’Abbe to call me to an account, whilst I do not infringe the laws of this kingdom? I think it impertinent for any man to interfere with my conduct; besides, I neither do know the person you mention, nor care for your imputations.”

L’Abbe. As I intend to bring this negociation to a happy issue, with coolness and moderation, I shall be neither provoked nor offended at the harsh expressions you may make use of. I maintain what I have said to be true; my design is not to injure, or to hurt you. But I must tell you, that by the laws of this kingdom, the seduction of a nun, and a clandestine admission within the walls of a female sanctuary, are highly punishable, I do not mention the censures of the church, which I dare say you laugh at, though in this case they are to be dreaded, as penal and disgraceful. The character of an informer I abhor, I do not pretend to more sanctity than my neighbours, I love women as you do, and have, like you, tasted before now the forbidden fruit. This secret will die in my breast, if you will lend me for a day or two the key of this terrestrial paradise, that I may procure another for the same mysterious enjoyments: and

as I suppose you will not probably continue here long, let me be the comforter of Madame de Rochechouart after your departure ; she shall never know from me that I am apprized of your intrigue with her ; if I ingratiate myself into her favour, it will be by my assiduity and attention.

Lord Clive. Pray, sir, how did you get this information ?

L'Abbe. I saw you this morning going out of this Eden, and I know Madame de Rochechouart to be the object.

Lord Clive. Has she had any gallantries that gave occasion to your suspicions ?

L'Abbe. What I know, is, that she has been sacrificed by unnatural parents, and her passions are too strong to admit of scruples in gratifying them, provided the assailant acts with proper spirit and perseverance ; the Abbe afterwards confessed how he had found out that it was Madame de Rochechouart, and lord Clive, delivered the key as the first preliminary, on condition that Monsieur L'abbe should return it in twenty four hours : that he should not mention this adventure and not enter the gate, till my lord had left the place. Lord Clive invited the Abbe, who was an excellent companion, to dine with him ; and his lordship having found means to have the key conveyed into Madame de Rochechouart's hands, continued his journey. This unfortunate victim of parental severity, died a few months after. As for the abbe, had he kept the secret, this affair, with the circumstances, I have related, could not have transpired in the city of Blois, where it is pretty well known.

From

From Blois, his lordship went to Tours, where Jolly presented to him a capuchin friar, who had resided at Pondicherry several years. He was a man of great sense, knowledge, and humour. As he had been Mr. Dupleix's confidant, he was acquainted with many secret transactions of the French East India company, several interesting particulars of which he related to lord Clive. His lordship having asked him, if he never was in the provinces of Bengal, the friar answered, that he was at Chundagore when the fortunate captain Clive took it; the attack was successful, said he, because the defence was inglorious. "How do you like Indostan?" a capuchin friar, answered he, is a cosmopolite, he is sure to get in all the countries in the world, food and raiment. Indeed, the peninsula within the Ganges was one of the most fruitful regions of the universe, before the servants of the English company, imprisoned, deposed, and murdered nabobs, ruined the inhabitants, and by their monopoly and extortions, diverted to themselves all the treasures of the Mogul and his vassals; witness Clive, and some other commanders of their forces. The noble lord did not chuse to ask him more questions, and when the friar took leave of his lordship, he offered him two guineas, which the capuchin refused, alledging that it was against their statutes. "Well, said lord Clive, smiling, I think it would be a good policy in the English East-India company, to employ no other servants in their territories, but capuchin friars, as they could not accept presents from the country powers."

Having tarried two days at Tours, he went to Bourgis where he received great honours from the
in-

intendant of the province, for whom he had a letter of recommendation. During three days he regaled his noble guest with equal profusion and magnificence : it was at a ball given on his account, that Madame de Jonsac, with whom he danced a minuet, seemed to him a propitious deity. Her husband was then at Paris, and if he had been at home *qu'imparte* ; though she was a lady of a certain age, she had still charms sufficient to inspire *un gout passager*, and sense enough not to require constancy. Lord Clive had soon with her *une affaire arrangee* and after an intimacy of three days, they became heartily tired of each other. They parted *comme des personnes raisonnables*, without regret or reproach. His lordship spent a few days at Nevais, pleased with the situation and the civility of some of the inhabitants, which he admitted to his table, he went there regularly to the play, for the sake of Madame du Frenvis, a French actress, who, with some talent for the theatre, a fine figure, *a je ne sais quois*, had raised several contributions upon the English. Lord Clive, who had been previously acquainted with her mercenary disposition, made her at once a present of fifty louis d'ors, to have her at command in a *petit supper tete-a-tete*, and sometimes all night, when her good husband knew it was by particular desire of his lordship. She was inconsolable when her dear lord went away. At Moulons, lord Clive made acquaintance with a *jolai petite couteliere*, to whom he payed an extraordinary price for the knives and scissars he bought at her shop. Indeed, she gave his lordship a great proof of love and disinterestedness, in proposing to leave all her concerns, and to follow him.

Though

Though lord Clive was naturally temperate, he was fond of good Burgundy, and during his residence at Macon, he had the best that the territory produced. It is very remarkable, that the noble lord, who was reserved, lofty, and pensive at home, was in France, gay, open, and conversable. A French gentleman having been informed that he was provided with the best wine of that district, sent his compliments to him, and begged, as the English engrossed all the best wines in the province, the honour to dine at his table. My lord having enquired who this gentleman was, and heard that he was a man of fashion and fortune; answered that he thought himself excessively happy to have good Burgundy, as he flattered himself he would honour him with his company at dinner the next day, and as often as he pleased afterwards. This gentleman, whose name was Monsieur de Couches, was a truly well bred man, free and facetious. My lord received him with great politeness and good-nature, and paid him the compliment to say, he should stay at Macon longer than he intended, on his account. Whenever lord Clive went to dine at his house, as Monsieur de Couches had tried in vain to procure for his guest wine of the same quality, they agreed, that without farther trouble, his lordship should send to Monsieur de Couches a dozen of his. The wine merchant from whom his lordship had got it, served none but English people, and begged his name should not be mentioned.

From Macon, lord Clive went to Geneva, where he intended to place his son, as he did afterwards; he thought this academy might well answer the

purpose of a student; but ill calculated for a man of pleasure and gallantry.

Having visited the wretched capital of Savoy, inhabited by a beggarly nobility, he went to Lyon, that opulent city, the rich manufactories of which are still unrivalled in Europe. There his lordship was known, and lived in great state and splendor. Though there were at that time great many English gentlemen, and some ladies in the place, he associated very little with them, and spent most of his time in French families.

His lordship had bought at Paris a set of historical tapestries of the celebrated manufacture of the Gobelins; several capital pictures, two compleat services of the porcelain of St. Cloud, and at Lyons he purchased a great quantity of velvets, rich silks, silver and gold tissues, &c. designed for his use, or presents to some of his correspondents in India. He appeared frequently at the public concerts, assemblies, plays, and other entertainments. An Italian countess famous by divers adventures, who had eloped from a jealous and troublesome husband at Milan, with a young French gentleman, whose finances began to be deranged, thought his lordship a very proper man to supply his place; if not in her affections, at least to a share of favours, she imagined he would be intitled for, as the highest bidder. Le Signora Contesse was consummate in the arts and intrigues of gallantry. She was made for pleasure and enjoyment; the vivacity and expression of her eyes inspired the most insensible, with desires and rapture. She had communicated to her lover the valuable conquest she meditated, and as he was to

be a partner of the contributions she flattered herself her charms would raise ; she soon overcame his scruples and his delicacy. Lord Clive had seen her often in public places, and had even passed some compliments on her beauty ; but she had given scarce any encouragement to his addresses, her intention being *de reculer pour mieux sauter*.

One evening that the tragedy of Alzira was acted, and the house very full ; his lordship coming late, and the countess having observed that he was not conveniently seated, she sent her compliments, and offered him a place in her box, which he accepted. Between the acts she rallied my lord with great wit and pleasantry, on his amusements with some *bourgeoises* and merchants wives ; and when he led her to her chair, after the play, offering to accompany her home ; “ No, no, my lord,” said she, “ I would not have you disappoint your select coteries ; it is enough for me to have the pleasure to see you in public. This affected indifference, though it mortified his lordship’s pride, made him more ardent in the pursuit, and he resolved to have her at any rate. The next day he wrote to her a letter, which was published afterwards, and several others, with the answers of the countess, at Trevor, under the title of *Letters of an Omrah and an Italian Countess*. They were ushered to the world by her French lover, out of resentment for a non performance of the articles on her part. The following is an exact translation of some of them.

L E T T E R I.

“ Madam,

“ Whatever construction you are pleased to put upon my connections with some families in this city, I can assure you with great truth, that they do not extend farther than a polite and a social intercourse, where love was never of the party. Could I flatter myself, - that my homage should not be rejected, you would soon be convinced how desirous I am to pay that tribute to your charms. I thought it unkind that you should refuse last night to comply with my respectful petition, I repeat it again, and beg I may know if I can aspire to the happiness of being distinguished in the croud of your admirers. You will not impute it to mistrust or insincerity, if I do not subscribe my name.”

To this letter, no answer was made, and the Countess's silence and affected reservedness produced the desired effect, in giving occasion to the next.

“ Madam,

“ I suppose you never was in love, otherwise you would not keep me in this cruel suspense. I intreat the favour of a line from your beautiful hand, and please to fix the happy moment I shall be indulged with the verbal assurances of my invariable attachment.”

The

The answer was :

“ Sir,

“ If I have given no encouragement to your addresses, it is because I am determined not to sacrifice my peace of mind to a transient gratification. Were I sure I should never have occasion to repent of having given my affections to a man who would be my protector, not my destroyer, I might explain myself more to your satisfaction. Till then I remain apprehensive of the consequences of a fatal passion.”

“ Madam,

“ I am ready to subscribe to all the conditions you will be pleased to dictate. As nothing upon earth can be put in competition with your desirable person; I shall think, if I attain this point, so essential to my felicity, that no terms are unreasonable, provided it is in my power, to comply with them. Please to mention the time and place for an interview, and you will be the arbiter of my destiny.”

The following answer discloses the views and the character of the lady.

“ Sir,

“ Since you give me *carte-blanche*, you will see that I seem to avail myself of your confidence and generosity. Previous to any engagement, I must acquaint you with my present situation in life, and the real cause of my troubles and my difficulties. I was at the age of sixteen, taken from a convent to
marry

marry a man of an illustrious family, though inferior to mine, past forty. I had an invincible aversion to his person, and more so to his character ; and to his connections, he had spent his youth in idleness and debauchery, and entailed on himself the infirmities of old age : his fortune was looked upon by my parents as a compensation for all his vices and depravity.

As he had never conversed but with the most contemptible part of our sex, he thought that virtue and fidelity in women, were empty names. His companions were equally profligate and dissolute. He had nothing to please, but with the disgust he naturally inspired ; no man ever tantalized a woman more than he did. To love such a brute, was out of the question : out of regard to myself, I acted with such prudence and discretion, that my conduct was never called in question, but a few days before I left him. Notwithstanding I carefully avoided all particularities with men, knowing his suspicious disposition, he attributed my coolness for him to some ideal lover, and in the fits of his rage and jealousy threatened to confine me for life in a nunnery. After so many repeated injuries during six years, without provocation or imprudence on my part ; the young French gentleman, whom you have seen with me, having had a letter of recommendation for my detestable husband, was soon informed of my wretchedness, and assured me to free me for ever of all those domestic troubles and anxieties. The count who had seen him once speak to me in private, published amongst all his friends and relations, that he had ocular proofs of his dishonour and
mine :

mine : notwithstanding he watched me narrowly, I happily reached the frontiers of France with my deliverer before he was apprized of the road we had taken. As the little money this gentleman had, with some jewels I carried with me, were the only resources left us ; they will be soon exhausted. Now to come to the point ; if you have for me the regard you profess, I shall be your's ; provided, you pay pay two thousand louis d'ors down ; ooe for the exigencies of my deliverer, who upon receipt of them, shall leave me immediately ; and the other to enable me to appear according to my rank and the style I have lived in. Besides I expect in case of a rupture, that you will settle one thousand louis d'ors upon me. As I understand you have a fortune more than adequate to accept my proposals, without inconveniency, let me know immediately your intention, and if you agree to this, my door will be always opened to you.

This letter puzzled his lordship ; after some deliberation, he flattered himself yet to bring this affair to the conclusion he wished, for two or three hundred louis d'ors. However, he thought it was very proper to dissemble, and made the following answer.

“ Madam,

“ I shall do myself the inexpressible pleasure to wait upon you to-morrow morning about eleven o'clock. My implicit obedience to all your directions and commands, will leave you no doubt of my sentiments.”

The

The countess thinking her noble lover would not fail to adhere strictly to the conditions, upon which he was to enjoy so many charms, condescended to accept two hundred louis d'ors as the preliminaries or her surrender, and made lord Clive happy. As he appeared with her in public after their intimacy, a *petite marchanda*, who, though she had riveted his lordship's affections, and expected an annuity for her kind services, was furious on this discovery, and bestowed upon him all the epithets of a faithless, ungrateful, and perfidious lover, and gave vent to her rage in the following letter :

" Could I expect such a barbarous treatment, with the aggravation of the most open marks of contempt? I shall be revenged of my worthless rival and you; and you may depend that you will not both triumph long over my disgrace and humiliation. This very woman, whose title adds to her infamy, and whom yourself have so many times called a compound of affectation and coquetry, has at last subdued your reason and your judgment. As you do not blush to be the slave of this mercenary wretch, I do not pretend to reclaim you from such an inglorious connection. But you will know soon, that no man however so exalted will offend me with impunity. His lordship, who did not intend to continue in Lyon above ten or twelve days, expected soon to be rid of the complaints and reproaches of this incensed fair, and to elude the demands of the countess, in blasting her expectations."

Indeed his galantries were likely to draw upon him the vengeance of two exasperated women, and the resentment of a young man, who thought him-

himself injured and sacrificed by the countess and her new paramour. Thus love, jealousy and disappointment concurred to disturb my lord in the midst of all his enjoyments.

The young gentleman who had resigned the countess upon the hopes of a valuable consideration, had received from her fifty louis d'ors, which he thought was only a *douceur*; introductory to greater rewards for his condescension. He became impatient to receive the thousand louis d'ors; which had been settled for his share, and pressed the countess to give him immediate satisfaction on this essential point; and though her future claim to his lordship's further payment, lay equally dormant, under various pretences, the young Frenchman suspected her to have wronged him in the distribution of his lordship's bounty. Actuated by the same sentiments of revenge of the countess's rival, they made a common cause, and the young Frenchman who had seen the first letters that had passed between my lord and the countess, had communicated the contents to the *marchande*. It was her who advised her new confederate to publish part of those letters, with some annotations on them, and before they were printed, divers pasquinades allusive to the countess's irregularities, were fixed at her door, and other parts of the town.

The countess had been informed of the new alliance betwixt her former lover and her antagonist; she expostulated strongly with his lordship on the procrastination in regard to the stipulated payment of the two thousand louis d'ors, which was the cause of all the mischief her deliverer intended to do her, on a supposition that my lord had fulfilled his

engagements, and that she had appropriated the money to her own use. She intreated him to satisfy that ill-advised and vindictive man's demands. That as for her, as she expected to accompany his lordship, he might pay her at his conveniency. But lord Clive, at the very time he seemed to approve of her proposals, was preparing for his departure, to disentangle himself all at once from her importunities. The impertinence of the Frenchman, and the furious jealousies of the *marchande*; two letters which he and the countess received at the same time, made him resolve to set out from Lyon very early the next morning.

The first directed to his lordship was from the French gentleman, in the following terms:

“ Sir,

“ I beg to know whether you have fulfilled your engagements with *Madame le Comtesse*? Was I not concerned in this transaction, I should not take the liberty to ask the question; but as I have advanced a considerable sum for her support, and she has promised to pay me one thousand louis d'ors, which you had agreed to give for my own use, I beg a satisfactory answer on that subject. The money I am determined to have, &c.

The other letter directed to the countess, was from her rival, but dictated by the two associates.

“ Though you cannot blush, in a few days you will be exhibited to the public in such colours, that even your painted face will not be able to bear the light. As you have ensnared persons who have
saved

saved you from destruction, and never gave you the least offence ; you have no right to complain of the effects of their implacable animosity. Wherever you shall fly, you will be exposed : your gallantries are as notorious as your infidelity ; and notwithstanding you impute all your errors and your misfortunes, to the ill-grounded jealousy and barbarous treatment of your forsaken husband, those who are acquainted with your transactions are sensible, you have not met yet with your deserts. The man whom you flatter yourself to have enslaved, is as faithless as yourself ; be certain, that your triumph shall be of short duration, &c."

After having read their letters, the two lovers seemed agitated with apprehensions of some mischievous contrivance against them ; and the countess beseeched his lordship to hasten his departure ; this he was resolved to do before she was aware of it. Effectively having presented her with a purse of fifty louis d'ors under pretence of purchasing some necessaries for her voyage ; he took for ever his leave of the deceived fair, and the next morning before day break, his lordship left Lyon and the two ladies at the entire disposal of the French gentlemen.

From Lyon his lordship went to Vienna, and from thence proceeded to Grenoble, where after a life of pleasure and dissipation, he conceived the design to spend some days in retirement, at the celebrated monastery of the Carthusians. He was there according to the custom of these Anachorites most hospitably received ; and as it is a solitude almost inaccessible and remote from any thoroughfare, he thought it advisable to remain there four or five days,

days, that the French gentleman and his ladies might not get any information of the road he had taken. What he was most apprehensive of, was that the countess might take in her fancy, to come after him. However, as he was not in the least inclined to embrace the severe institutes of these fathers, after he had fasted long enough with them, and made them a present suitable to his reception. He went to Valence, and from thence to Avignon.

There he was received with great distinction by the Pope's vice-legate, and the nobility and gentry of this capital and its vicinity, vied with each other, in shewing to this noble guest the same respect and attention. He had experienced the inconveniency of taking from the hands of a destitute lover, a woman who had eloped from her husband ; therefore his lordship had made a resolution, to have no intrigues but with ladies, who might occasionally transgress the command, without forfeiting by such a rash step, all lawful claims to conjugal support.

The lady whom he singled out at Avignon for his amusement; a few transient amours excepted, was an excellent wife, according to the French notion, and much attached to her husband, who thought she was a second Penelope. Was she partial to any man? it was because he had a true regard for her husband. Did she go on a party of pleasure with a lover, without her beloved spouse? It was to shew the world that he was not afraid to trust her with young fellows. Had she a rendezvous with a favourite? It was to do a service or an act of charity to some of her husband's friends and relations. In fine, she was always right, and always
sure

sure to meet with the approbation of her good man, who really was good-natured to a fault. Madame de Souillac (such was her name) was very handsome, and had what the French call *du temper amainement* complaisance, flattery and attentions; with a title, were sure to gain her heart, and the transition to the enjoyment of her person was very rapid.

She had been the vice-legate's favourite sultana, and she was always invited at the public entertainments which he frequently gave. It was, in one of them that Madame de Souillac, observed the attention which the vice-legate paid to the noble stranger, who at the same time took notice, that her beautiful eyes had been for some time fixed upon him. His lordship's vanity gave a favourable construction to these oglings, and took the first opportunity to turn her head, by the most lavish praises on her personal accomplishments, in order to prepossess her mind according to his desires. We cannot pretend to say, that lord Clive had that irresistible power of pleasing, which creates sudden passions, but Madame de Souillac whose complexion chiefly consisted of the fiery element, wanted but an object to kindle the flame in her breast, provided he was a man of quality, who made a brilliant appearance. As my lord answered this idea, the tender of his love could not be rejected. The lady having named after supper his lordship to be one of her party at Quadrille, he lost some louis d'ors *de meilleure grace du monde*; and as Madame de Souillac had no equipage; she accepted without hesitation my lord's proposal to see her home in his carriage. She was too well bred, when the carriage stopped at her door, not to desire him to walk in. My lord

was shewn into a saloon, where Monsieur Souillac was playing at picquet with two of his friends, till the return of his chaste spouse. This nobleman, said she to her husband, who has had the politeness to accompany me, is the English lord, whose brilliant equipage and livery you took notice of the other day. He intends to reside here some time ; I hope the vice-legate will not engross his company to himself, and that we shall have the honour to see him often, *en famille*. To this the good husband answered, that he was excessively obliged to Madame de Souillac, for having procured him the acquaintance of a man of his merit and distinction ; and to cultivate it would be a great addition to his happiness. My lord returned the compliments, and begged the gentlemen to continue their party, which was soon finished.

Madame de Souillac resumed the conversation; in informing my lord with the bad state of health of her *cher mari*, who on that account resided chiefly at his country-house near Torcalquier, for the benefit of the air. As for my part, added she, I am not fond of rural amusements, I give the preference to our little capital, since we are doomed to live in a remote province from Paris. As I seldom go out but towards the evening, and dine often at home, you are sure my lord always to find me, and to be excessively welcome. To this, my lord answered by a profound bow : ‘ I found your carriage so easy, that indeed it would tempt me to go out for an airing oftener than I used to ; and if agreeable, we shall pay a visit to Monsieur Souillac, one of these days, and take with him *un dîner champêtre*. My lord agreed to all these proposals, and having promi-

promised to come the next day about noon to inquire *comment Monsieur et Madame avoient passé la nuit*. He took his leave.

The next day his lordship having been announced, though Monsieur de Souillac was in his study, was led into Madame's apartments, according to her orders. She was at her toilette, *dans le disshabille les plus galant*. "Ah! my lord," said she, "You have almost surprized me, before I was in a condition to receive you." But I know the English gentlemen are modest and bashful, consequently I was not apprehensive that you should have been *tics entreprenant*.

The reader perhaps may question the truth of these conversations; his lordship at his return frequently related to his friends the several intrigues he had with French ladies, and the conferences which were the prelude of their surrendering at discretion. My lord was seated on a sofa, whilst Madame sometimes contrived, without deviating in the least from the *bienseances* to shew a *gorge d'une beauté ravissante*, and charming legs which were *un préjugé avantage pour le reste*. After her *fille de chambre* had performed her service, she was dismissed, and left the noble lord and the lady, in the most eligible situation of a *tete-a-tete*. Madame de Souillac, *qui étoit aguerrri* was not in the least afraid, of my lord's *temerité*.

As Madame de Souillac's intention was to admit his lordship constantly at her toilet, without suspicion or impediment, and that he might have a free access to her apartment at all times, she thought it was but reasonable to acquaint her husband once for all, that my lord was, with her, de-

fired his compliments and should be glad to see him. *Chez Madame.* In consequence of this polite message, Monsieur de Souillac knocking at the door with the most humble deference, was admitted and most graciously received by his matchless wife; and the usual compliments having passed between my lord and him, she said, she was extremely sensible of his complaisance and attention, to come and inquire after her health, and more so for having agreed to dine and spend the evening with her. Indeed, reply'd Monsieur de Souillac, I am, excessively obliged to his lordship, and happy to hear you will spend your time so agreeably; I hope my lord will not take it ill if on account of my health, I go to spend a week in the country, and that during my absence he will continue his kind visits on the same amicable footing. As for you, Madame de Souillac, I do not pretend to compliment you, when I say that no woman does the honour of her house with more judgment and decency. It is a great misfortune to be infirm, and that I am forced to deprive myself of my lord's useful and entertaining conversation; but, I hope my lord and you will favour me with a visit in the country before I return. I know, said Madame, that my lord will excuse you, and should be very sorry *de vous deranger*. Certainly, added my lord, I beg sir, you will not mind me, and when I am at your house not to alter in the least your manner of living. As you give me that permission, said Monsieur de Souillac, *cil pedrone della casa*. After this explanation so agreeable to all parties, the good gentleman retired, and went out for business, before

before he did set out for his country seat *Vous vous, dit à la Mademoiselle, que m'importer, est le meilleur homme de monde.* We have never any of these jars and quarrels unbecoming persons of fashion, he is never more pleased than when I amuse myself in the company *de quelque aimable cavalier* No restriction upon my conduct, no jealousy destructive of all social intercourse You see he is old enough to be my father, but I like him better than a young man, who had been perhaps an unfashionable husband, accompanied me wherever I went, and plagued me with conjugal love, *en faisant d'être joyeux et importune* No, Monsieur de Spuillac and I live together *sur le bon ton*, distant apartments, separate beds and different companies, adapted to our age and inclinations In deed, said my lord, this is a charming life Marriage is not well understood amongst us, we know nothing but its shackles and *les personnes comme il faut en France*, enjoy the pleasures of that free state

Now what I require of you, my dear sir, if the charms you are pleased to allow me have made upon you the impression you speak of, is in case my partiality for you, should in some critical moments, that all women have, make me yield to your intreaties and perhaps your repeated attacks, that you do not boast ungenerously of your triumph, and that I may depend upon your attachment and discretion No doubt, but that the noble lord answered in the affirmative with the additional professions of course of an inviolable and unfeigned love

After this essential ecclesiasticism, my lord began his approaches, and took possession of the outworks with no other resistance, than what a little

decorum required. The place had surrendered at discretion, had the general been provided with ammunition ; but rather than to commit his reputation, after they had interchanged the most rapturous kisses, our hero made a prudent though not perhaps an honourable retreat. After some minutes of silence, the lady recovered from her disorder, and fetching a deep sigh, said, "How weak women are ! I bid you to desist, when I wished you should proceed. You know to conquer, without availing yourself of the victory." This keen reproach mortified the weak assailant, and to be revenged of his backwardness and her disappointment, Madame de Souillac rang the bell for her chambermaid, who came accordingly to help her mistress to finish her dress.

My lord having taken two dishes of strong chocolate, by Madame de Souillac's prescription, now that she was *habillée dans le grand goût*, it was against the rules of the *sevoir vivre* to make any attempt which might have *derange sa parure*. She proposed to my lord to take an airing in his carriage before dinner, and as soon as the *amoureux transi* with the lady were out of the gates of the city, she began the following interesting conversation :

"I must confess, my lord, that there is in our sex a strange inconsistency. We wish to preserve the appearance of what the vulgar call virtue, though we look upon it as a troublesome check to our dearest inclinations, and are often displeased at the timidity of the man we love for acting according to injunctions ; we consider as a matter of form, diametrically opposite to our expectations. Though I do not take you for a novice, you perhaps may not

not know that most French women of quality look upon an insult to their charms, which few have the generosity to forgive any procrastination, when they have prepared gradually, and wish for the *l'heureux instant*. As for my part, I am not so strict or so unforgiving ; though I do not like to be baulked, and am always sorry to have shewn my weakness, when it is not conducive to the gratification of my desires ; I make some allowance for a lover's stagnation at certain times, who with the most ardent passion may, for different causes, relent at the last stage of his pursuit. My intention was to make you happy this morning, and many other women who love with less ardour and sincerity, would have plagued you with a long and a tedious courtship.

he had missed. He added, that he hoped he should have soon another to retrieve his character and the ladies good opinion, and prove to her that he was not insensible of the great favours he flattered himself to obtain.

After an excursion of two hours, they returned home and dined in the greatest harmony, dipping now and then the arrows of the mischievous little god into champagne and burgundy.

Some ladies and gentlemen, who came in the afternoon to pay a visit to Madame de Souillac, and whom she could not well dispense to receive, though against her inclination, interrupted for a time our lovers *tête-à-tête*. Madame de Souillac after they were gone, having begged his lordship's leave to undress himself, for reasons the reader may easily guess, my lord for fear of being taxed again of backwardness or omission, proposed to accompany her. The chamber-maid having been dismissed, the lady threw herself carelessly on the sofa, where the noble lord received her, with the most eager embraces.

My lord's assidues to Madame de Souillac, were from the topic of the conversation of the beau monde. Every body knew their intimacy, whilst the husband did not even harbour an idea injurious to his lady's virtue. To silence censure and detraction, they now and then visited the passive husband *à sa terre*, who thought himself greatly honoured with this connection, and did not treat my lord as his *Aide de camp*, but as a powerful and respectable auxiliary.

The vice legate who knew Madame de Souillac's gallantries, and had himself shared her bounty, congratulated

gratulated my lord upon his conquest, adding, he was glad his lordship had taken her from his hands, as she required too much duty. My lord joked himself upon his *bonne fortune*, which sarcasms joined to his debility, caused the lady's displeasure and resentment.

My lord, having revealed to the vice legate several ludicrous circumstances of his intrigue, with Madame de Souillac, and the prelate having divulged them to some of his intimate acquaintances of both sexes, Madame le comtesse de la Motte, who like her friend had indulged herself in promiscuous gallantries, but was capable of attachment even to women; one morning waited upon Madame de Souillac, whilst lord Clive was in her apartment. As they had been connected for many years past, chiefly by a conformity of inclinations, and Madame de la Motte had desired the servant to let his mistress know, that she had something of consequence to impart to her; Madame de Souillac begged his lordship would excuse her for half an hour, to which he answered in the affirmative.

"I suppose," began the countess, when she saw Madame de Souillac, little confused, that you was up stairs with your dear English lord. What makes you think so? replied Madame de Souillac. Because I know, answered the countess, *qu'il ne bouge, pas de chez vous et que vous etes. Coiffée de las.* "Well, my dear countess," said Madame de Souillac, "Suppose all what you say is true, you cannot condemn me, since you would act the same *se il vous avoit affichée.* Perhaps I might, confessed candidly Madame de la Motte, but were I informed

med that he does not *deserve my affection*, I would withdraw it from a worthless object. But is it the case ? said Madame de Souillac. I am sorry to tell you he has abused your kindness, and exposed you in the most illiberal manner. This is the very subject of my visit, and if you have patience to hear me, I will let you know the particulars of his ungenerous proceedings. You are sufficiently well acquainted with the character of the vice-legate, not to be ignorant of his propensity to turn in ridicule most women who have had for him *quelques petites foiblesses*. You and me have experienced his ingratitude and his deceit. He has a long while suspected and indeed all the town, that my lord had an intrigue with you. As for their surmises, you despise them as well as I, as long as private conversation is not betrayed, nor the intimacy of the parties revealed. Madame de la Tour the reigning mistress, whose name must never be mentioned, cannot keep, as you know, even the secrets of her paramour. Two days ago, the vice legate related to her a conversation you had with my lord, when you took with him for the first time an airing in your carriage, with many circumstances, which really make you appear as a *massaline*. You know, if my lord did not justice to your charms the first time you surrendered at discretion, and if you gave him afterwards a lecture on his remissness. Do not hesitate : Is this true, or an invention ? Ah ! my dear, answered the countess, it is too true : I am scandalously used and betrayed. My lord has besides declared to the vice-legate that he would soon resign his post, as he was not able to hold it longer,

longer, with many other railleries of that kind, which will hurt your reputation, as no man afterwards who has not the strength of Hercules will engage with you, since you are insatiable in your desires. Well, my dear countess, said Madame de Souillac, what shall I do? the perfidious wretch is up stairs: shall I go to him and load him with curses and reproaches? No my dear, answered she, it is better to postpone the effects of your vengeance, till you are more cool and more deliberate. Ring the bell and let him know by your chamber maid, that some family affair has obliged you to go out with me, after you, and me are gone in my carriage. Madame de Souillac acquiesced to this proposal and went to the house of the Countess. Her vanity was more offended, than her love concerned in this discovery. Indeed, my lord had lately so much neglected her charms, that she had thought of designing him a successor; only she expected my lord would make some acknowledgment for all the favours she had so freely bestowed on him, though she was far from being of a mercenary disposition, if she treated him with the same kindness till his departure. She communicated her intentions to her friend, who really coincided with her in opinion, that she should not be dupe of a man who had betrayed her, in regard to money matters, and that she had a fine opportunity to tell him, that some disagreeable family affairs having happened, and Monsieur de Souillac having contracted some engagements, which he could not fulfill, the consequences would be dangerous, if a friend did not lend you 2000 pistoles, to extricate yourself from
the

the present difficulties. This plan was approved of, and Madame de Souillac promised to dissemble her resentment till she had compassed her design.

Lord Clive who had engaged her to several expences really intended to make her a present for the extra he had put her to ; but most likely he had not estimated them so high as Madame de Souillac. She returned home after dinner, and her noble visitor came according to custom, towards the evening, whom she received with the same apparent cordiality, but she seemed dejected and unhappy in her mind. He naturally inquired the reason, and begged, if it was not a secret, she was not authorized to reveal, to tell him the subject of her grief. She first made an apology for troubling him with her family affairs, magnified the derangement of her finances, and concluded, by a pathetic story of her alarming situation, with the intimation of the immediate want of a friend's assistance. My lord believed all this to be true, and seemingly concerned for her affliction and embarrassment, promised to give her the next day a bill upon his banker at Lyons for 1000 pistoles, adding, that if it did suit him, he would contrive to advance her the other thousand. It seems as if the generous proceeding, had obliterated the memory of her wrongs, for he continued his visits as usual, and she never upbraided him for what was past, in expectation of the next payment. Indeed, two days before his departure from Avignon, he discontinued his visits, as he foresaw that Madame de Souillac would lay new claims on account of the conditional promise he had made. But she never knew but the very day that he

he disappeared; that he had fixed the time, and she comforted herself with the sum she had received for her charms, whilst lord Clive thought her secret and repeated services deserved such a premium.

His lordship went from Avignon to Aix, where two English gentlemen of Shropshire on their travels having heard, from one of his servants, after he had alighted at the same hotel, who he was : one of them, whose family had been at variance with lord Clive, on account of the parliamentary interest he had purchased, spoke disrespectfully of the noble lord's transactions in Europe and Asia. This having been related by the son of the landlord to the noble lord's valet de chambre, he informed his master with the contumacious speech of his young countryman. My lord, thought at first it was better to dissemble his resentment than to make a fracas ; but the author of these aspersions having received the most unfavourable impression of his lordship from his parents, and was a great proficient in the art of fencing, took upon himself to be the champion of his friend's quarrel, and by repeated provocations which he publicly avowed, forced his lordship to take notice of the injurious reports he had propagated to his disadvantage. One morning, he sent a message to the young gentleman to acquaint him, he should be glad to see him with his friend ; to which the spirited youth answered, that though he looked upon lord Clive as his equal, notwithstanding his Irish title and decorations, and thought he might as well have taken the trouble to come to his own apartment ; for fear his lordship should contrive his refusal to wait upon him into

fear and timidity, he should immediately repair to my lord's lodgings; where he went accordingly with his friend.

My lord having desired the gentlemen to be seated, addressed his aggressor, saying, "Sir, as I know nothing of you, I am much more surprised at the liberty you have taken with my character, and that you should have been so busy, in vilifying my origin and my relations. Was you not a young man, rather below my notice and my rank in life, I should not confine myself to a verbal correction, but make you sensible, if on equal terms, in another manner, of your rashness and imprudence. Whatever you can say of me, my conduct in India and at home, baffles all the impotent efforts of envy and censure."

To this the young gentleman answered with great composure, "My lord, I hope you never will know any thing of me, but what is honourable and consistent with a liberal way of thinking. As for the liberty I have taken with your character, I shall not retract what I have advanced. When you came here, I said before some English gentlemen, who saw you alight from your carriage, behold! our country nabob, who having with the spoils of the East influenced venal electors to bring into the senate his obscure relations and the despicable tools of his abused power and oppression, now travels in France to display his ostentatious pageantry. Though I am not so well acquainted with your Indian transactions, as with your manœuvres in elections, I have

“ have a sufficient information to make good my
 “ charge. In regard to your origin and your re-
 “ lations, I should not have reflected upon these
 “ fortuitous distinctions, had you not insulted my
 “ parents and disgusted all the gentlemen of our
 “ country by your haughtiness and arrogant dic-
 “ tates. I shall not claim any indulgence as a
 “ young man, and I think myself upon a par with
 “ you, notwithstanding your titles and honours ;
 “ often prostituted to undeserving upstarts. I
 “ shall submit to no correction, neither I respect
 “ of what you call rashness and imprudence, and
 “ which I name justice due to my friends and to
 “ myself. I believe with you, that the immense
 “ wealth you are possessed of, will defeat the in-
 “ tents of all inquiries into your conduct at home
 “ and abroad.” He concluded by saying, “ My
 “ lord, if you require further satisfaction, I shall
 “ not leave this place for these two months to
 “ come.”

My lord seeing that he was a young gentleman ,
determined, got up, as a signal for him and his com-
 panion to withdraw, thinking very rightly that if
 he was obliged to draw the sword, for all reflections
 cast on his military and civil transactions, he should
 be obliged to be in a state of a perpetual war.

He remained but a few days at Aix, during
 which he comforted himself with an English lady,
 famous for her galantries and infidelities to her lo-
 vers, and to whose shrine he paid his mite.

Before he did set out from that city, Madame de
 Souillac who had been apprized of the road he had
 taken, sent him the following epistle, translated
 verbatim.

“ My

“ My lord,

“ Your unexpected departure from Avignon,
 “ deprived me of the opportunity of upbraiding
 “ you as you deserve, for your ungenerous beha-
 “ viour in regard to me. My gratitude for the
 “ little service you have done me cannot silence
 “ my just complaints for your injuries. It is not
 “ that I am much affected by your treacherous
 “ proceeding, but I am g'lad to let you know, that
 “ I think you worth'less of any reputable woman's
 “ attachment. I did not foresee, when I received
 “ you at my house as a friend, and a man whom I
 “ thought merited a particular regard, that you
 “ would join with the vice legate, in treating me
 “ with the highest contempt and ridicule. Whate-
 “ ver are my frailties and my imperfections, you
 “ should have been the last man to expose them;
 “ and for some part of our private conversations,
 “ that you have betrayed, with the addition of
 “ satyr and inversion. I think no man of honour
 “ should boast of the confidence reposed in him to
 “ abuse it. I have only a salutary advice to give
 “ you, do not flatter yourself that your opulence
 “ can give a varnish to the most unjustifiable pro-
 “ ceedings. There are many women like me who
 “ may be deceived by appearances, but when the
 “ treachery is detected, the object become more
 “ hateful and despicable, in proportion as his sta-
 “ tion is more exalted. I dare say, I shall never see
 “ you, nor indeed do I wish to be ever connected
 “ with a man so deceitful. Was it worth my
 “ while, I could report you in the colours that you
 “ deserve

deserve to my friends at Aix, and some relations I have at Marseilles; but I do not think it worth my while to think of you after I have concluded and subscribed myself with the highest contempt and indifference,

M. de Souillac."

My lord was nettled with this letter, and as he was conscious he deserved part of the lady's reproaches, he wished the vice-legate or his confidants had never mentioned some raileries, which indeed ill repaid the lady's kindness and hospitality.

Of all the towns of France, Marseilles seemed the most desirable abode to his lordship; and indeed as a commercial city, it was the place where he found most of the principal inhabitants eager to shew him all marks of respect and attention, on account of the reputation of his immense wealth, which will always give the pre-eminence in such an empirium. He hired at three miles distance from the town a little villa, which the Marseillais call a Cassine, and there he purposed to live some time for the benefit of the air and the conveniency of secret enjoyments. The reader must not judge by the multiplicity of adventures his lordship had with women, that he was an Hercules; he wanted new objects to sharpen his appetites; and none answered the cravings of his imagination. However, the principal motive of his retirement was, to satisfy some of his senses in a constant supply of the pretty *provençales*; who are sprightly and vivacious without interruption. To the most ungentle mer-

chants

chants he gave sumptuous entertainments, and to their wives and daughters balls and little concerts. But the man who contributed chiefly to his amusements, was one Monsieur Bellon, a broker, whose most profitable branch of business was to procure women of easy virtue to strangers, who had will and power to reward munificently his secret services. He waited on the noble lord, as the most likely man to give him great encouragement, and made him a tender of his ministry. My lord and his broker became soon acquainted with each other's temper and inclinations, and as Bellon was a man of address and insinuating, he soon managed all his lordship's domestic affairs.

He brought daily his bill of fare, which consisted of new discoveries relative to women, calculated for my lord's pastime. Some were married, others languishing widows, and the major part girls of pleasure; which Bellon introduced in the modest attire of citizen's daughters, after they had been properly instructed in the part they were to act. If my lord did not throw his handkerchief to every one, he dismissed them all satisfied with little presents. This was really living like an Eastern sovereign, and if my lord had no reason to boast of conquests that belonged to the public, he enjoyed the illusory satisfaction of flattering himself to have had the first fruits.

As Bellon did not acquaint my lord with the connections of the woman designed for his pleasure, he was likely to involve his patron in a disagreeable affair, by insisting for his service, one of the prettiest girls in Marseilles:—she was the mistress of a captain in the French navy, who was gone to
Toulon

Toulon for a few days. Unluckily my lord took a particular fancy to her, and as her daily pay exceeded the yearly allowance of Monsieur de Kerfant, her keeper, she was resolved to continue her intimacy with my lord, after her *jealous surveillant* return. Monsieur de Kerfant having called at her house several times one evening, and having in vain inquired from her maid the reason of this extraordinary absence, posted his servant in the street, with orders to observe if any man accompanied her home, and to acquaint him of the time she returned. About three o'clock in the morning, she knocked at her door, and wished a good night to Bellon, who had seen her home. As the servant could not in the dark distinguish who he was, he followed him at a distance, till he came to his house, and opened the door himself with his key. The servant who knew Bellon's residence, reported to his master the next morning, what he had seen; and de Kerfant furious went to his mistress, to convince her of the proofs he had of her infidelity. She was not up, but this circumstance did not prevent him from going into her bed-chamber, where he had access at all times, and he awaked her with the most poignant reproaches of her ingratitude and perfidy; and having added, that he knew all Belon's vile arts to seduce her, for which he should call him to an account: she naturally concluded, that he was apprized with her intrigue with my lord. She did not attempt to deny the fact, or to exculpate her guilt, but answered in a passion, "I despise your anger and your threatenings; as I have changed my situation for the better, I declare to you, that I shall go again to my lord, and that from this day
I think

I think myself no longer accountable to you for my actions. This confession which proceeded from the idea that Kersant was acquainted with the whole transaction, gave him a further information, and he saw at once that Bellon was only the agent, and his lordship his happy rival. After some altercation, Monsieur de Kersant retired and went to Mr. Bellon, resolved to punish him for his infamous brokage.

Having been admitted into his counting-house, as soon as Bellon was informed it was Monsieur de Kersant who wanted to speak to him, he was out at a loss to guess the subject of his visit. He desired one of his clerks to conduct him into a private apartment up stairs; and Bellon having made his appearance; "Ah! ah, Monsieur le Maquereau," said Kersant in addressing him, "I did not know that you acted in this honourable capacity, otherwise I might have employed you before now. But since you have debauched a woman, whom I thought true to me, and made for her and yourself a detestable bargain; without farther ceremony I shall crie you as you deserve, and immediately applied upon his shoulders some severe strokes with his stick. Bellon prudently pocketed the affront, resolved to make his lordship pay for his disgrace.

From thence Monsieur de Kersant proceeded to my lord's villa, and having been admitted, he said to his lordship, he came to demand satisfaction for the injury he had done him. If I have given you any offence, answered his lordship, it is not wilfully, as I have not the pleasure to know you. That may be, replied de Kersant, but I suppose, my lord, you are not ignorant of my attachment
to

to a woman, that Bellon has procured you, in alienating her affections for me. In regard to this imputation, said my lord, "If I have seen any lady that belong to you, I think myself no more guilty in that respect of a breach of honour, or any intended injury, than if I was connected with the wife of a man whom I have never seen nor heard of before." So my lord, you was not apprized that Mrs. Duvarger was the kept mistress of Monsieur de Kerlanr, a captain in the king's navy? "I never heard," answered my lord, "your name mentioned before; and if the lady has thrown herself into my arms, no matter by whose means and contrivance; you cannot blame me." "Well, my lord," concluded Mr. de Kerlanr, "This explanation is sufficient, but in regard to your mistress Monsieur Bellon, I have given him a receipt in full for his officious conduct."

Monsieur de Kerlanr retired after this eclclaircissement, resolved to abandon his mistress to the noble lord.

As for Bellon he comforted himself for the ignominious punishment he had received, with the perquisites and other deuceurs he had enjoyed, whilst acting under my lord's commission.

This little disturbance engaged his lordship to leave his little villa sooner than he intended. Having visited the arsenal and the king's dock at Toulon, he returned in his way to England, through Montpellicre, Toulouse and Bourdeaux. The Marshal de Richelieu, governor of Guinea, who had been the most agreeable debauchee in France, being informed of his lordship's arrival, sent one of his gentlemen to his lordship, with the most obli-

ging invitation to make to live *en famille* at his hotel, as long as his lordship should reside in Bourdeaux. Lord Clive in consequence of this politeness waited immediately upon the duke, and assured him that he was too sensible of his kind offers, and too well acquainted with the Marshal's merit and social qualifications, to omit any opportunity to resort to the seat of his government, which under his auspices must be the abode of Mars, Venus and Apollo. The marshal, who still endeavoured to support the reputation of a man *a bonnes fortunes*, was highly delighted with the compliment, and repaid it in contriving to procure to his noble guest all the pleasures in his power. He had for the form sake a mistress, widow of a member of the parliament, who did the honours of his house and his table with all the graces imaginable. As the marshal wished for nothing else than to be reckoned her titular lover, he gave her leave to appoint whom she pleased to do the duties of the office. My lord found that she was of easy composition, and soon filled the agreeable post of *figilbis*. Madame la Presidente indeed, did not find in him the contrast of the marshal; but his attentions and the preference he had given her, flattered her vanity: after having spent a few days with the marshal and his lady in a continued scene of pleasures and entertainments, he took a most affectionate leave of the lady and her most obliging keeper, and proceeded through Angoulême and la Rochelle to Poitiers. From thence he went to the celebrated abbey of Fontevraud, to see the tombs of Henry II. and Richard I. He was most agreeably entertained by the lady Abbess and some young

nuns of her attendance. He stopped a few days at Nantes, Angers, le Mans and Chartres, and having spent a week at Paris incognito, he proceeded to Calais, where he embarked for England. Indeed it was high time for his lordship to return, as his enemies had been very busy in his absence to defame his late administration in Bengal.

Lord Clive after his return from France, having found a great benefit from the climate of the Southern provinces, now directed his attention to make a powerful party in the India-house, and to influence divers members of the legislature in order to prevent enquiries into his conduct and transactions in the East, in which so many of his friends were essentially concerned, and that might injure his fortune and character, in making the triumphs of his enemies complete. He was no longer mentioned as the glorious deliverer of the province of Arcot, and the victor of Plassey, but branded with the ignominious appellations of a rapacious pillager, a sordid monopolist, a most tyrannical oppressor and the author of all the abuses and miseries that threatened ruin and desolation in Bengal.

We shall leave for some time his lordship making preparations for his defence, and insert in this interval the campaigns of the commanding officer in Bengal, with which one of our correspondents has lately favoured us, as the continuation of these already mentioned.

he had under his command. For the present he only confirmed the orders of colonel Munro, by giving it out in general orders, that "All former orders given out by major Munro are to be strictly observed, unless contradicted in general orders." And made a few alterations in respect to the cut parts, and the line in consequence of a number of officers having left the army. The major remained some little time on the present ground, in order to know, if major Munro's quitting the command of the army, could induce the temerity of Sujah al Dowlah once more to attack us in our entampment as he did at Buxar, and try again his fortune in the field of honour.

Sujah al Dowlah had no intention of attacking us again in a set battle. In short how could he? At this time, he had not above one fourth part of the army he had at Buxar, and without cannon, and our army had considerably increased. Dear bought experience had taught him to act the general better. He now divided his horse into small parties, and kept skirmishing with us from morning till night.

Sir Robert to put an end to this sort of action, and entirely to make a conquest of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, on the 14th at night marched towards the enemy, and the order of battle finished with this caution, "Sujah al Dowlah having said privately to his principal officers, that he will leave his camp standing, for our troops to plunder, and as soon as he finds them dispersed will return and cut them to pieces, it is therefore recommended to the troops in general to avoid plundering, the captain of the scapoy's battalions are desired to swear

swear the men on the alcoran, that they will neither plunder nor leave their platoon without orders."

The men were in motion all night, and in the morning we found ourselves little better than a mile from our former encampment, owing to the banks of a dry nullah not being stopped the evening before for our guns to get over.

We encamped at Seapoor, and as the enemy's horse were all round us, and seemed determined to be as troublesome as possible Sir Robert halted here some days in order that the buzar might be furnished with seven days provisions, and the Cutwals had positive orders not to sell any grain but to the army, except to those whom officers may order, such as Lascars, Artificers, &c

The officers were ordered to make their servants provide themselves with two or three days provisions.

The 18th 1765, We marched, and obliged the enemy to move their encampment, and we took possession of it. Before we came to our ground it rained excessive hard, a large body of the enemy's horse drew up upon the right of our line of march, as if they intended to charge us, but a shot or two from our cannon convincing them that we could make use of them in wet as well as dry weather, made them march off. Had they had the courage to have charged us at this critical moment, when in a manner the army was deluged, they might have cut off a great number of us, as I do not imagine one must it in fifty would have gone off.

The army marched again the next day, and the 20th encamped within a few coss of Jeanpoor.

Sir Robert finding that he could not bring Sujah al Dowlah to an engagement, and that he, the Subah, had but few troops with him, therefore determined on driving him out of his country and retrieving his fortreffs. With this view, he marched after the Nabob himself, and sent major Stibbert with a strong detachment, to lay siege to Chunargurr. Sir Robert marched on to Joanpoor, took its fort, left a garrison in it, and then marched after Sujah al Dowlah, whom he obliged to seek for protection in the Rohilla country. Sir Robert then laid siege to the important town of Allahabad, and while he was carrying on his approaches, the brave and active major Stibbert, was battering the walls of Chunargurr. These two strong fortresses surrendered about the 8th of February, 1765.

The combined success and harmony of these two officers in this campaign, reflect great honour on their judgment and activity.

On the 13th of February, General Carnac, arrived at Chunar, and took the command of the army. When a gentleman enters into the army with sordid views, without the ambition of military glory, such an officer when he meets with preferment, is lost in the field, and in such a country as India this partiality may be attended with fatal consequences to those who employ him. If general Carnac had had the least spark of military emulation, he would immediately, on his being restored to the company's service, have set out for the army with all expedition, instead of loitering away his time, ingloriously at Calcutta. A better opportunity he never could have had of retrieving his honour. Colonel Munro shewed him the way to conquer,

conquer, and had his nag been encouraged by the hero's spur, he would have arrived in time to have taken the command of the army, when Colonel Munro left it, and should have had the glory of finishing a campaign so well begun.

In love and in war, none can be successful, without taking the occasion by the fire-lock, otherwise the same opportunity may never happen. It seems general Carnac, trusted every thing to fortune, and it was, perhaps, a commendable diffidence in him, to mistrust his foresight, and his judgment; indeed his present inactivity was wonderful, and unaccountable, though it seemed inherent to his nature.

Sir Robert Fletcher, was sensible how precious time was in the field of action, and lost not one lucky moment; so well did he improve the present conjunctures, that before the general reached the confines of Sujah al Dowlah's territories, that prince had been driven from his dominions and all his strong holds were in our possession.

The general found, that he had now nothing else to do, but to adjust the collection of the revenues for the company; it is probable he thought this part of the campaign which fell to his lot the more agreeable task; how far the general adjusted the revenues to answer the amazing expences the East India company had been put to in this country, we leave to the inspection of the proprietors of India stock; but thus far we can with certainty advance that the general who had declared himself worth the independant fortune of seventeen thousand pounds, at the close of the former disgraceful campaign, left India the following season with 100,000*l*. and as general Richard Smith, said of himself who
had

had acquired a princely fortune with a *plumb* of two. Under his patronage, others accumulated an extraordinary wealth. One of whom the year before left the army with an intention to return to his native country with the moderate acquisition of ten thousand pounds; a combination of lucky circumstances prevented him, and having served as aid de camp to the major in the last campaign, he held the same station in this; but played his cards with more skill and success. He shewed himself an able financier, for he too went home the following season with a fortune of upwards of seventy thousand pound. Its a pity that such abilities should lay dormant, were they known to the premier, lord North, might give himself no further trouble in regard to the ways and means.

But to return, general Carac on his arrival gave out the following in orders :

“ At a general court of proprietors, held, the 5th of May, 1764, it was unanimously resolved that their thanks should be given the officers and soldiers, who by their gallant behaviour, under the command of major Adams, were the means of saving the company's settlements in Bengal from immediate danger.

The commander in chief has the highest satisfaction in notifying the same, and makes no doubt the like honour will be conferred on the army as soon as the good service since rendered by, it is known at home.”

The officers of the army would have willingly dispensed with the honour of the proprietors thanks, if the directors had continued to them that pay they had been long accustomed to receive ; lord Clive,
and

and his secret committee, while they were publicly thanking the officers for their gallant behaviour, were laying a plan to deprive those very officers of part of their pay, which was not more than sufficient to support them in so expensive a part of the world.

The 15th, orders were given to the officer who commanded in Chunargur, to get the breach repaired as soon as possible, and the person who had charge of the boats was ordered to hold them in readiness, to transport the troops over the Ganges.

The 18th it was in orders.

"The commander in chief requests that the officers of the army, will wear round their arm the usual mark of artillery mourning, as a just compliment to the memory of Meer Jassier Ally Cawn, a person to whom the army is so much indebted; by applying to the quarter master, they will be supplied with a crape for that purpose."

The 19th. The artillery and magazine and captain Grant's battalion of seapoys crossed the river and encamped upon a convenient spot near the water-side: the contractor with all his stores also crossed.

The 21st. We moved out ground; and on the 25th marched towards Allahabad. "The officers are to take particular care that no plundering or setting fire to the villages, is committed in front, which is strictly forbid under the severest punishment." These orders were repeated the 5th of March with this addition: "That whoever is found guilty of it hereafter (plundering) if a follower of the army, will be immediately hanged on the spot."

if a soldier or seapoy, will be brought to a general court-martial and tried for his life."

March 1st, 1765. The army encamped on the banks of the Ganges opposite to Allahabad, where Sir Robert Fletcher joined us, leaving a garrison in the front.

On the 3d. The general divided the army, and on the 5th he marched, leaving major Sir Robert Fletcher at Allahabad, with part of it under his command.

The day before we marched the following order was given out.

"The persons who have hircarrahs with them, are to give in a list of them immediately, and captain Swinton who is appointed to take charge of that business, will supply such officers as may have occasion for them, on separate commands for the sake of intelligence; but where the commander in chief is, all intelligence is to pass through him only. In future, hircarrahs wages and all demands for intelligence are to be paid by captain Swinton, that there may be but one hircarrah account."

The general having nothing to do, made a tour through part of the country. We first marched to Pampa, next to Taggadpoor, where we were informed that the "governor and council returned their thanks to the officers and the army in general, on occasion of the surrendering of the forts of Allahabad and Chunar."

Then we marched to Barilley where we halted some time, and on the 23d we encamped at Cundianullah, where Baja Bene Bahadar, prime minister to Sujah al Dowlah, came unto us; he pretended to have left the nabob, as his affairs were despe-

desperate : he therefore wished the general would look upon him as a friend to the company, and employ him in the collection of the revenues ; the rajah's scheme took : his true motives for coming to us, were to draw our attention from his master, until he could prevail on some foreign power to assist him ; and in consequence it was in orders.

The 25th. " Captain Galliez with his battallion, and two guns, with a proper number of artillery-men, &c. are to hold themselves in readiness to accompany an officer on the part of Rajah Bene Bahadar to assist him in the collection of the revenues of this country.

The general himself set out for Ande, the capital of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, early next morning, taking with him all the cavalry, commanded by captain Graham, and a battallion of seapoys commanded by captain Nicol, as his body guard.

The army remained at Cundia-Nullah until the 7th of April, when they marched first to Daud-poor, and then to Ometah, where they remained under the command of Major Stibbert until the 18th.

In the mean time, several detachments of seapoys were sent out to assist people appointed by the general to collect the revenues. Lieutenant Martin was sent to one part of the country with five companies, and ensign Strand with four to another. It is not improper to take notice here, by way of shewing my readers who are not acquainted with the natives of the East, what active men our seapoys or soldiers are, when commanded by an officer who they have an esteem for. Ensign Shand
marched

marched with the four companies under his command twenty co's a day for four days together, and left not one man behind, for which he received the thanks of the general.

When the over cautious general arrived at Fyzabad, the residence of the nabob of Oude, he lodged himself with his body-guard in the palace of Sujah al Dowlah, that fugitive prince whom he never durst face in the field, and whose seat of empire should have been better occupied, by those who had vanquished him. There the ostentatious brigadier, fond of ease and pageantry, gave himself up to Asiatic indolence and luxury, unmindful of the vigorous measures, he should have pursued to retrieve his repeated disgraces and unjustifiable blunders. Here Meer Sulyman, a most worthy, facetious, intelligent Asiatic, who had been karsaman to Cossim ally Cawn, late nabob of Bengal, was reduced to the humiliation of becoming the suitor to the general, whom he secretly despised. for appearing in a triumphal pomp, on the musnud of that prince, whom he had left master of the field. Meer's policy and ambition suggested him to make his offerings at the shrine of power, even so injudiciously bestowed. He was rich and wished to be employed. Captain Swinton, from his office of head hircarah (as appears by the general orders of the 4th of March) was no doubt; well informed of the abilities of Meer Sulyman, who threw in his mite of knowledge to make still more frugiferous the general and his head hircarah's plumb trees. This gentleman on the conclusion of the treaty with Sujah al Dowlah, obtained from him a salary of five thousand pounds a year; and was particularly

larly recommended by lord Clive; to the nabob's favour, at the intercession of the general, who in this instance shewed his gratitude to the man who had opened to him the temple of fortune.

At this time, the general corresponded with Mr. Gentil, a French gentleman, who lived with Sujah Dowlah in great intimacy, and was truly a *secretis confiliis*, that is, the same man, whom the company have ever since looked upon with a jealous eye, and have so many times attempted in vain to have removed from the nabob's presence and councils, as their secret and natural enemy, whose abilities they dreaded, and whose influence might prevail on Sujah al Dowlah, to shake off their ignominious yoke. One of the chiefs of accusation against Mr. Bolt, was his correspondence with this formidable Frenchman, which step was construed into treason.

Monsieur Gentil was at that time endeavouring to bring about an accommodation between the company and Sujah al Dowlah, through the general's mediation, who to do him justice, was more fit for a pacific negotiation, than to direct hostile measures. But the Morattas who were reported to be in full march to Culpee Gaut to enter the Herah province rendered fruitless these overtures.

The army under the command of major Stibbert on the 18th of April marched back to Doudpore, and the next day to Cundia Nullah; where the general having indulged himself long enough in the acting the nabob, rejoined the army.

They continued to march every day towards the enemy, encamping near some small village, till the 24th, when they encamped at Barally, a town of
some

some not, where they halted all day, and lodged all the sick seapoys in the fort. The 27th, the army crossed the Ganges, and the 28th they are encamped at Suragepore, the general thinking he could not at last avoid coming to action with the enemy, without raising the former clamours against that remissness which was his characteristic, appointed the Captains Swinton and Hamilton, with Mr. Cobham, deputy commissary his aids de camp. And on the first of May gave out the following order, “ The main force of the enemy consisting
 “ only of Morattas who are commonly more
 “ for plundering than fighting, seeking only for
 “ an opportunity of falling upon the baggage, and
 “ cutting to pieces the defenceless followers of the
 “ army; the general recommends it in the
 “ strongest terms to the officers to carry no more
 “ baggage, than is absolutely necessary, and his
 “ positive orders are absolutely, that no soldier or
 “ seapoy shall carry their women with them, but
 “ send them over the river, where sufficient guard
 “ will be appointed for their safety.”

I must beg leave to observe, that the general's observation in regard to the Morattes, who are commonly more for plundering than fighting, is also very applicable to the major part of the commanders of the company's forces; and had our general felt his pulse, I dare say, he was not so eager for an engagement, but he might have dispensed from the fighting part, could Sujah al Dowlah's treasure have fallen into his hands, without that bloodshed to which his humanity seemed so averse.

Sir

Sir Robert Fletcher with his detachment, joined the army at Suragepore, and on the 2d, he and major Stibbert were ordered to do duty alternately as field officers of the day. After which, the order of battle, that was never intended, was given out, and then the order of march. The mens arms were also reviewed, and every thing got ready, as for action. The general thought the respectable appearance of his army, would be sufficient to deter the enemy, and save him the trouble and the hazard of a battle, effectively his preparations answered his purpose. The next day the army advanced, but the enemy as careful of their own preservation, as their prudent followers, would not face them. This was a victory in the opinion of the general, and had been madness to pursue, and provoke them to an engagement.

Sir Robert Fletcher with a detachment from the army exchanged a few shots with them, when the dastardy Morattas galloped off the field. They had marched from the Rokille country down the banks of the Ganges to meet the army commanded by general Carnac. Sujah al Dowlah, was so incensed at this instance of their cowardice and treachery, that he would not, nor has to this day paid them fifty lacks of rupees, which he had promised them for their assistance.

Thus the English general afraid to attack, and the enemy equally backward in the defensive, gave equal proofs of their timidity and resolution. One should suppose, that those who had restored Mr. Carnac to the command of the army, knowing that his skill consisted wholly in never committing his reputation to the uncertain events of battle,
with

wish for nothing else than the preservation of the soldier, and never dreamed of an engagement, as long as this general remained on the field. It is worthy of observation, that this mock shew of a resolution to attack the nabob happened the very day (the 3d of May twelve months,) when Sujal al Dowlah attacked general Carnac in his entrenchments, under the walls of Patna.

The sixth, the army encamped at Georgemow, upon the banks of the Ganges. To the left of their encampment was a small fort with wooden intrenchments. At first, it was unnoticed by the army; but one of the general's aids de camp, the intrepid captain Swinton, observing that it was garrisoned by a handful of men, who made fourteen in all, summoned the governor to deliver it up, which he refused to do, but on honourable conditions. This answer, which should have entitled him to the respect and humanity of a generous enemy, enraged the furious aid de camp to that degree, that he whipped unmercifully his excellency back to his fort, as a specimen of English clemency, justice and prowess; the consequence of this unmanly affront and provocation, for which the aid de camp, in a disciplined army would have been dismissed the military service, was, these few brave men sold their lives as dear as they could. And before the fort was subdued, we had more than double their number of our sea-poys killed and wounded in this disgraceful affair. The sea poys widows, friendless and destitute, had no other comfort in their anguish and grief, than to hear, that the garrison was sacrificed to the manes of their deceased husbands, and to revenge their wrongs; the mangled bodies of

of the garrison were thrown over the walls of the fort. The aid de camp, after this slaughter, caused by his rashness and the indignity he had offered to a defenceless man, was obliged to bring two six pounders to blow the gate open, but even this he could not perform; as the garrison had taken the precaution to barricade it. At last, Sir Robert Fletcher, the captains Goddard and Duffield, and some others, went into the ditch with a party of sea-boys and beldars, and cut steps all the way up, as it was a mud fort, this was performed after some labour, and in a short time, by this method, the fort was stormed at noon day.

Such are often the consequences of want of subordination and discipline in armies. When a general countenances, or at least winks at the unjustifiable and ungenerous insults of officers under his command, many brave men fall victims to the acts of violence and injustice committed by an individual, who is sure to be supported. As the Morattas had not performed the service Sujah all Dowlah expected from them, he renounced their alliance, and Mr. Gentil having renewed his correspondence with the general, he paid him a personal visit soon afterwards. By this gentleman's skill and dexterity, an interview was soon managed with the Nabob, and the preliminary of a treaty agreed upon. Indeed, Sujah all Dowlah, could have no objection to treat with general Carnac, who had been the most offensive enemy the company had ever sent against him; and he gave a new proof of his pacific disposition to the nabob vizier, by his readiness of enacting his treaty, his friendship, with a sovereign, whom in fact he had never molested.

This treaty, however, was not ratified till lord Clive, who was said to be a great physiognomist had reconnoitred then nabob's complexion; when on the 16th of August it was confirmed on the part of the company, under his lordship's sign manual. Lord Clive observed on this occasion, that Sujah al Dowlah, was naturally 'a brave enterprising prince; and if adversity had not circumscribed in time his aspiring views, the possessions of the company in Bengal, and indeed those of the Mogul himself, had been very precarious. He saw that he was a prince, proud, revengeful and warlike; and if the company would preserve their acquisitions, they must be careful for the future to give him no offence, particularly in regard to his independency of which he is remarkably jealous. As for seizing his territories, and reducing him either to the necessity of throwing himself into the hands of the Morattas, or to the nominal title of the nabob of Bengal; the first step would expose Bombay to an expensive and dangerous war with the Morattas, and the second, would raise the jealousy of the French, Dutch, and Danes, and engage them to join, to wrest from us the empire of Hindostan. The nabob's remarks on lord Clive were, that he was a shrewd man, who could read into futurity; that he knew he was not so much indebted for his restoration to his lordship's justice and generosity, as to his political views, and the honour he should acquire in Europe, for making a Mogul, and reinstating the first sovereign in Indostan to his dominions; and thus acquiring the reputation of equity and moderation, with the glorious title of the pacificator of the East.

On the 11th Major Stibbert was detached to chastise a rajah who was collecting the revenues of the Kirahabad province for himself, and had not acknowledged the sovereignty of the company. The major had under his command his own battalion of seapoys, one commanded by captain Nicol, lieutenant Eyres with his rassala cavalry, and lieutenant Calling with two six pounders. After the major had performed the service he had been sent upon, and had driven the rajah entirely out of the country, which, however was not done without an engagement, where we had a few men killed and wounded, and in which the rajah lost Mangla Khawn, one of his principal officers, and some of his men killed and wounded; he cantoned the troops under his command during the rains at Lucknow.

The general, who had expressed a desire of freeing the Korah province entirely of the Morattas, before he put the army into winter quarters. On the 15th issued out the following orders.

“The army is to be ready to march at a moment’s warning, as it is not to go far and will be on the field but a very few days, no person is to carry more baggage than is absolutely necessary.

Captain Hill with the battalion now under his command, is to remain on the ground for the protection of the boats and baggage, he is to be joined by the recruits and awkward men lately collected into a body under the command of ensign Musket.” And on the 16th the army marched leaving behind the sick Europeans and Seapoys under the care of Mr. Dunu, surgeon.

On

On the 18th The following was in orders
 “ A salute of twenty guns is to be fired at one o’clock
 in the afternoon on occasion of lord Clive’s arrival
 at Calcutta to take on him the charge of government
 and commander in chief of Bengal, &c

The 20th, The army encamped on the banks
 of the Turnna, opposite to Culpee,

A detachment was sent over the river to lay siege
 to a mud fort, when the detachment went to storm
 in the 22d in the morning, they found the enemy
 had evacuated it The detachment then marched
 to another a little distance off, and found the enemy
 marching out of it, an action immediately com-
 menced in which a great many of the enemy
 were killed, and we lost a few men

The enemy having been drove beyond the
 Turnna, and the rainy seasons approaching, the ge-
 neral being under no apprehension of their return-
 ing this season, he therefore next day put it in or-
 ders

“ Four hundred Europeans are to march off to-
 morrow morning with eight pieces of cannon, to
 follow at the day break escorted by captain Gal-
 lier’s battalion of seapoys and a regiment of cavalry
 The Europeans are to march off at 2 o’clock The
 rest of the army is to follow next day under the
 command of major Jennings ”

On the 30th The army returned to George-
 now, where they were immediately mustered and
 paid The sick Europeans and seapoys were then
 sent down the river Ganges in boats to attack Illa-
 habad fort

“ On the 6th, June 1765, The bombay de-
 tachment and pioneer company, captains Grant
 and

and Ironsides battalions of seapoys, the two Rasaula's of black cavalry, and eight pieces of cannon, are to march tomorrow morning at day break to Domunpoor, from whence they are to cross the Ganges as speedily as possible. Mr. Todd commissary is to dispatch down the necessary boats for that purpose."

On the 8th. Captain Duffield's battalion crossed the river, and on the 11th, and 12th, the rest of the army crossed at Domanpoor. And on the 14th, the army marched and arrived opposite to Allahabad the 25th.

The 26, The army was divided into three divisions, one of which was cantooned at Allahabad, the other at Joanpore, and the third marched for Banaras, where they arrived the 4th of July.

General Carnze and the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, came down the river, from Allahabad, to meet lord Clive at Banaras, in consequence the commanding officer there, ordered the European troops, and a battalion of sea-poys to march to the river side near the hospital; on the 21st in the morning and wait there for the arrival of the general.

On the nabob Sujah al Dowlah's landing, he is to be saluted with twenty-one guns. All guards are to turn out, as often as the nabob passes them, with rested arms, the drums are to beat a march, and the officers are to salute. And previous to his lordship's arrival, the general gave out in orders the following regulations of honour to be paid,

" All guards are to turn out to major general lord Clive, as often as he passes ; they are to rest to him and beat a march, and the officers are to salute : all guards that mount with the colours of a regi-

regiment or battalion, are to salute his lordship with the colours. brigadier general Carnac, commander in chief of the army, is to be received with rested arms, and the drums to beat a ruffle. In the absence of Lord Clive, he is to be received with the same honours, (the salute of the colours excepted.) Colonels when not commanding in chief, are to be received with rested arms and two ruffles of the drum. Lieutenant Colonels are to be received once a day with rested arms. Majors are to receive the compliment of shouldered arms, General officers guards are not to turn out or pay compliments to inferior officers.

When the king passes any guard, he is to receive the same honours as lord Clive. All guards are to turn out to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and pay him as often as he passes the same honours as lord Clive, (the salute of the colours only excepted). Copies of these regulations are to be sent to the commanding officers at Joannpore, Patna, and all the subordinate settlements.

Lord Clive arrived at Banaras the 1st of August, 1765, he was received with a salute of nineteen guns at the Burn Nullah, upon the skirts of the town; and from thence, his lordship was escorted by Capt. Scotland's battalion of sea-poys, to Mr. Marriots, which was fixed for head quarters. Here my lord was received by one captain, two subalterns, two serjeants, two drums, and forty-eight rank and file.

The same day general Carnac requested in public orders, that all the gentlemen would meet at major Jenning's quarters the next morning at seven o'clock, to be introduced to lord Clive; and the

the first act of his lordship, was the following order, inserted with all the ostentation of an Asiatic nabob, G. O. August 3d.

“ Orders by Robert Lord Clive, Baron Plassey, in the kingdom of Ireland, Knight, Companion of the most honourable Order of the Bath, Major General and Commander in Chief of the British Forces in Bengal, President of the Council, Governor of Fort William, and all the honourable the East India Company's Settlements, in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, &c. &c. &c.

“ A general court of proprietors having resolved, that certain covenants should be executed by all the officers in their service, and the governor and council having received the strictest injunctions, from the court of directors, to put the resolution of the said general court in execution immediately, in obedience to their commands, it is ordered that the said covenant be immediately executed.

And on the 7th, The officers at Banaras were ordered to meet at captain William Smith's quarters, in order to sign the covenant. A number of them were sent to Joannpore, Allahabad and other places for the other officers to do the same.

The negotiation of a treaty with the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, which had for some time been in suspense, was now finally concluded and ratified by his lordship the 16th, of August 1765, at Allahabad, which consisted of eleven articles, as mentioned in page 355, first volume.

Thus

Thus we see the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, which go under the name of the kingdom of Bengal, now in possession of the East India company, add confirmed to them by the emperor of Hindostan, Shah Allum, on condition of their paying to him 26 lacks of rupees a year*, the usual sum paid into the royal treasure by the nabob's of Bengal. We have seen Sujah al Dowlah's country conquered before his lordship's arrival in India, and we now see a former treaty broke through, and Sujah al Dowlah restored to his dominions for political reasons. And at this time we see these kingdoms in perfect tranquility without a force in either of them, supposing them inclined to action fit to encounter a battalion of seapoys: even to such extremities was Sujah al Dowlah reduced, that we were obliged to give him, at his own request, a battalion of seapoys, to remain with him as a protection to his person.

Lord Clive it seems had positive instructions from the court of directors, to reduce the military expences by taking away part of the officers field allowance, called Batta, which had been first introduced by his Lordship, as a necessary allowance, when he far removed them from Europe commodities, and made the company's troops a mercenary band to dethrone one nabob, and set up another. We will now proceed with a detail of military regulations, which will show that his lordship ought rather to be reprobated than praised for reducing the field allowance of a few individuals, which was certainly the intention of the court of directors, it should be general, or allowed to none.

* See page 368, Vol. I.

There was not the least hint given by his lordship when he informed the army on the 3d, that all the officers were to enter into certain covenants, that their allowance was also to be reduced. This was left to another opportunity.

The army on the 5th of August were ordered to be formed into three brigades : the first commanded by general Carnac ; the second by colonel Smith ; the third by Sir Robert Barker, with a lieutenant colonel, major, six captains, one captain lieutenant, nine lieutenants, seventeen ensigns, thirty six serjeants, thirty-six corporals, twenty-seven drummers and six hundred and thirty private, which are to be divided into nine companies ; each to consist of one captain, one lieutenant and two ensigns, four serjeants, four corporals, three drummers, and seventy private men each.

The seapoy battalions were formed into three brigades, each to consist of seven battalions, one attached to each regiment. The artillery was formed into four companies, one to each brigade ; the other stationed at Fort William. By this augmentation of the army, no less than one hundred officers were introduced into the establishment in the course of a few months, and their *petits maitres* with a great shew of consequence, filled the titles of their orderly books with, Orders by John Carnac, Esq; brigadier general of the king's and company's forces, colonel of the first regiment of infantry, &c.

Orders by Richard Smith, Esq, colonel in his Britannic majesty's forces, and colonel of the second regiment of infantry in the honourable company's service on the Bengal establishment ;

for this vain man took care always to make the most of his titles. We cannot conceive what the &c's at the end of his lordship's titles alludes to, except to his being an Ormarah of the empire, for at that time his majesty had not appointed him lord lieutenant to Shropshire and to carry on the ostentatious farce as if those who had the management of public affairs were run mad, every now and then the ears of the army were saluted with the firing of cannon, which by counting we could distinguish the ranks of the officers that had either left, or had joined the army. His lordship was honoured with nineteen, general Carnac with seventeen, colonels, fifteen, lieutenant colonels, thirteen, and majors eleven.

His majesty Shaw Allum and Sujah al Dowlah, were honoured with royal salutes.

This our reformers called subordination, and by this vain profusion the company was put to more expence for powder in a few weeks, to give the subaltern officers an idea of the great dignity of these military pedagogues, than they had been put to in this article the two last campaigns under general Carnac.

On the 23d, lord Clive returned to Banaras from Allahabad, and next day it was in orders, "His lordship has directed, that all the non commissioned officers and private men, both artillery and military of the Bombay detachment, are to be immediately incorporated on this establishment, and such of their officers who can obtain permission from brigadier general Carnac, commanding officer of the army, shall be received as youngest of the rank they now possess." Lord Clive ordered
the

the second brigade to Allahabad until Sujah al Dowlah had made good the sixth article of the treaty. The third brigade was stationed at Patna, and the first at Mongheer: his lordship after this distribution of the troops, set off for Calcutta, and Sujah al Dowlah made a tour through his country to shew himself to his subjects. The nabob arrived at Lucknow the 9th of September, where major Sibbert was in cantonments with his detachment.

The major took leave of the nabob the 14th of September, and on the 16th marched for Allahabad to join his brigade, leaving captain Nicol with his battalion of seapoys as a body guard to Sujah al Dowlah.

His lordship had in his military regulations of œconomy, introduced immediately upon his arrival, and in the time of profound peace, more field officers to one brigade than the company had in all upon the establishment a few months before. A farther account of the regulations with a few remarks thereupon shall be given in a future number. Had we the materials that a Meer Sulyman, a Meer Muskalla, and a nabob, Moneer al Dowlah could furnish us with in respect to the distribution of money matters, we might well inform our readers who paid for places they did, or did not enjoy. Moneer al Dowlah was old and political: he wanted a guard to protect his person in his old age: he therefore had four hundred stands of arms purchased from the Dutch chief of Patna, not by himself, but by an English commander; it is probable this has not attracted the notice of the East India directors, because it was done by a general who acted without controul. There is no doubt

doubt but captain Swinton who was head hircarra, *and had the management of the intelligence*, could give the court of directors as good and satisfactory information in respect to this transaction, as Mr. Verelst, thjough his friend; Mr. Rumbold, gave the court of directors in regard to the affair of Mr. Peterie, which the court looked upon as an invidious and ill-timed piece of information; therefore paid no regard to it. Mr. Verelst, this calumniator, has been endeavouring to make the court of directors and his friends believe his false minutes, which he entered in regard to another gentleman to serve particular purposes, and which he had been hammering at these six years; but time, which explores all things, will shew that all the evasions, and little cunning of these petty tyrants, cannot hide for ever their iniquitous transactions from the knowledge of the legislature, and complete the ruin of many valuable members of the society; which they flattered themselves to oppress with impunity,

“ To what are we reduced to? (wrote some time ago an honest servant of the company to his friend in England) the numberless evils intailed upon the Bengal provinces, and the inferior company's servants, by the new regulations civil and military, introduced by our despotie reformers, are beyond description. Regardless of the rights of mankind, they trample under foot all divine and human laws, and if one applies for redress to a lawless court, this justifiable step is construed into disobedience and mutiny, with the aggravation of forfeiting the advantages of many years faithful services. Was you to see again this once flourishing

ing country you would think that Goths and Vandals, had devastated these provinces, and made it a dreary solitude, where the few famished natives, who are allowed to breathe, exhibit all the horrors of thralldom and despair. There is no likelihood of their miseries being alleviated, unless a revolution restores the enslaved Indians to a participation of the privileges of rational beings. All is here in disorder, confusion, and anarchy: nothing but venality, rapaciousness, monopoly, oppression and injustice, except a few arrogant demagogues, who live in splendor, affluence and luxury, and divide among themselves the products of the lands and all the fruits of industry; the rest either subsist on a scanty allowance, or perish of hunger. There is scarcely one of the company's servants civil or military, except the rulers, who is satisfied of his condition. They are precluded by the reformers, from the prospect of ever returning to their native country, with a provision answerable to their long and faithful services. Lord Clive has done more harm to the company and to the inhabitants of the peninsula, than it is in the power of ten of his successors to remedy. Surely, the sovereigns of Europe, who have settlements in Indostan, will not always tamely submit to the dictates of upstarts, who restrain their commerce and insult their subjects. One should think that the courts of directors for several years past, either have been totally ignorant of the management of their substitutes, or have winked at their depredations to have a share in the plunder. As for my part, I vow as soon as I can settle my affairs, not to remain in this land of oppression and wickedness one day more than I can help

help it. I am heartily tired of this cruel bondage; and I promise you, I shall never be tempted again to serve such ungrateful masters. This is become a military government; we keep an army, not to add to our conquests or to preserve them, but to arrest, imprison, and compel the officers of the company to embark for Europe. The last campaigns of a certain general are truly laughable and ridiculous. Adieu! may I see you soon."

At that very period a pamphlet was published in France relative to the present state of their affairs in the East Indies, with some strictures on the acquisitions, and interior policy of the English company in Indostan.

"One of the most remarkable events of this century, says the author, and which is really alarming for all the commercial states of Europe, is the sovereignty which a society of modern Carthaginians have usurped in the East. These monopolizers, not satisfied with excluding all the European nations from a share in that valuable and extensive trade, have deposed, murdered, and kept in the vilest subjection the inoffensive and generous sovereigns who gave them an hospitable asylum in their dominions. Were the powers who have establishments on the coast of Coromandel, to make a common cause, to rescue the princes and the miserable subjects of the mogul empire from such an intolerable thralldom, and to drive their oppressors from the possessions they have encroached, in reducing them to their primitive obscurity and insignificancy; this would be considered as an act of public justice and humanity, productive of the most

most salutary effects in regard to France, and her commercial views. The cession of Canada and some unhealthy islands, are no other loss than nurseries of hardy seamen. If we consider that England has purchased these conquests at the enormous sum of eighty millions, these proud conquerors are greatly the losers by such acquisition. As for the East Indies, I hope France has not, nor never will lose sight of this wealthy spot. The great and almighty lord Clive, owes all his success and his reputation to the supineness of the French, and the injudicious measures of the governors and commanders of their forces, inadequate to the rigorous efforts that Great Britain pursued, to be the mistress unrivalled of this part of the Eastern globe. From the knowledge I have acquired of the disposition of the Indian princes and their subjects; I answer, that fifteen thousand men sent at different times to the Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius under an able commander, for fear of giving the alarm to our jealous neighbours, will essentially answer the purpose of subduing the English natives, not to ruin and distress them, but to assist and protect them against all invaders. I would make a temporary treaty with the Moratta's, as their alliance is not to be depended upon, but may answer the purpose when we are ready to strike. None but gentlemen of the military profession, should be appointed to the government of the factories with a standing army, able to cope with the English, and to awe the natives. The capital fault of our government was to intrust to men ignorant of the art of war, our most important settlements on India; they had the policy to divide the country powers, but were inca-

incapable to make use of the *ultima ratio regum*. We must not expect to be joined at first by the pusillanimous and dejected princes of the peninsula, who will not declare themselves, till we have vanquished their arrogant masters ; but, I will venture to affirm, that none of them will afford them any assistance, whilst a French army can protect them from their resentment, and that they will gladly submit to the victors whom they will look on as their friends and their deliverers. These are the only means of retrieving the losses of France in the last war, and this monarchy will never be truly great till it has acquired and secured the undivided empire of Indostan, the king acting as paramount over a republic of princes, who from his moderation and equity must expect the return of Alcyon days."

Projects,

For the re-establishment of the French East-India company, offered to the conseil royal of commerce, with the sanction of count de Maurepas and Mr. de Sartine, secretary of state, and minister of the marine, to which department belongs the commerce of the Isle of Mauritius and Bourbon, and of the East Indies.

Whilst Great-Britain is on the eve of a civil war, with her stubborn and resolute children in America, and embroiled at home in domestic dissensions, sinking gradually into the lowest ebb of national disgrace, exhausted by conquest and luxury, and governed by pusillanimous councils, France cannot fail of success, if she avails herself of her rival distracted state to retrieve her superiority and the reputation of her arms, in extending her commerce

merce and her navigation. Her empire on the Continent requires no aggrandizement; the cold and inhospitable regions of Canada are no longer an object of her ambition, all her views must be turned towards the East Indies, and all her strength must be exerted for becoming the arbiter of the Carnatic.

The discouragement we have met in divers attempts to settle in Madagascar, far from obliging us to give up all hopes of future establishment on this island, ought to stimulate our most vigorous efforts to have the command of this important channel, through which all European ships in their voyage to and from India, generally sail, unless perverted by storms.

It is a pleasant, desirable and fertile country, abounding in sugar, honey, wines, fruit-trees, vegetables, valuable grains, corn, cattle, fowls, precious stones, iron, some silver, copper, steel and tin. It is watered with numerous rivers, well stored with fish. The air is generally temperate, and very healthy, though in a hot climate. Those who inhabit the coasts descended from Arabs, may be easily reconciled to our settling there, in benefiting them by the grant of commercial advantages and privileges, and making them sensible that the forts we shall erect are calculated for their protection, as well as for our own defence, against the negroes with whom they are in a state of perpetual war. I should propose to have a chain of forts on the passage between the island and the Cape of Good Hope, garrisoned with five thousand men, commanded by an able and experienced officer, whose talent and study should be to please the white
 'Vol. II. 3 R natives,

natives, without the least encroachment on their rights and property, inspiring them at the same time with a favourable opinion of our justice and moderation. No doubt, but the maritime powers will interfere, but as we have in France a great number of spirited adventurers, who with the prospect of making a fortune, would gladly engage in this enterprise. We may get a constant supply of men sufficient to protect us from insult and molestation.

The island of Bourbon, which lies about three hundred miles East of Madagascar, has many good roads round it for shipping, particularly on the North and South side. As the climate here, though extremely hot is extremely healthy, being refreshed with cooling gales, that blow morning and evening from the sea and land; I would have kept there a numerous garrison, fit to act on any emergency, and a squadron of men of war, except during the monsoons, when ships cannot ride secure against the hurricanes, and coasting along shore is dangerous. The island abounds in brooks and springs, and in fruit, grass and cattle, with excellent tobacco, aloes, white pepper, ebony, palm and other kinds of wood: many of the trees yield odoriferous gums and resins, particularly benzoin of an excellent sort, and in great plenty. The rivers are well stocked with fish, the coast with land and sea tortoises, and every part of the country with horned cattle, as well as hogs and goats. The woods are full of a great variety of birds pleasant to the palate. Thus plentifully supplied by nature, and still capable of great improvements conducive to all the conveniencies of life, this island which is
ninety

ninety miles round, can maintain a little army in health and vigour, ready to co-operate in striking the great blow offered to your consideration. The isle of Meuritus, which has a hundred and fifty miles in circumference, with a fine harbour, capable of holding fifty large ships, secure against any wind that blows, and a hundred fathoms deep at the entrance, is still more fit for the rendezvous and station of a powerful fleet, with a considerable body of land forces. The climate is extremely healthy and pleasant: this island is watered with several pleasant rivers well stocked with fish, and the soil of late fertilized, yields plenty of tobacco, rice, fruits and seeds, with a great number of cattle, deer, goats and sheep; so that in regard to the climate and the productions, it is well adapted to a French constitution. These two islands garrisoned with twelve thousand men, will effectually answer the purpose. These with an addition of eight thousand men embarked in different ports of France, acting in concert, landing in three divisions at Pondicherry, Callicut and Rajapour, on the Coromandel and Malabar coast, headed with three general officers of tried abilities, will at the same time take the field in the Carnatic and the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour, which lay open and defenceless. As Golconda is a most valuable acquisition, on account of the colour of its diamond mines, the cheapness of its provisions, and its excellent white wine; it will at once throw into our hands the richest materials of commerce, and supply our army with excellent provisions of all kinds, whilst the kingdom of Visapour equally fruitful, which yields a yearly revenue of six millions

lions sterling to its king, will leave his treasures at
 our discretion. At the same time, the possession of
 the little kingdom of Tanjore lying to the East of
 Madura, the soil of which is rich and fertile, will
 render us masters of the pearl fishery upon its
 coast. As within it lies the Danish settlement of
 Tranguabar, and the Dutch fortlets of Negapa-
 tam, I would recommend a strict injunction to the
 armies to protect these settlements who cannot an-
 noy our operations, and whose friendship and neu-
 trality, as well as that of the Portuguese, settled
 at St. Thomas, Monguilore, Dundee, Shcule,
 Raffam and Salfette: In short, far from encroach-
 ing upon their territories, our policy should be to
 enlarge them, and thus secure their friendship and
 alliance. Now as the main force of the English in
 the peninsula is destined for the preservation of the
 provinces of Bengal, their military establishment
 for the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bom-
 bay, which consists in part of seapoys, being too
 inconsiderable to face an army of veterans in the
 field; I would neither attack their forts at last
 the first or the second campaign, nor invade the
 provinces of Orixia and Bengal, too wide distant,
 but cut off all communication, and all the com-
 mercial resources which they derive from the inter-
 ior parts of the Carnatic and the kingdoms of Vi-
 sapour and Golcondz, satisfied to shut them up in
 their strong holds. The places I propose to gari-
 son, in order to remain masters of the interior
 country from Cape Conor to the Ganges are Ma-
 dura, Tanjore, Conymea, Bishnagar, taking at the
 same time possession of the diamond mines of
 Realconda.

As the English who aim at the commercial supremacy of the universe, have raised the envy of other nations, none of the maritime powers, who can afford them assistance, will stir in their favour. The Indian princes will exult at their disasters and humiliation, and all their efforts to drive us from that rich country between the Coromandel and the Malabar coasts will prove unsuccessful, if the commanding officers give to their subalterns a noble example of moderation and disinterestedness, refraining from all acts of violence and rapaciousness, and keeping their army in strict discipline and subordination. It is not unlikely that the English government might at the expiration of the royal charter granted to their company, take into their hands their territorial acquisitions, and reduce them to their original insignificance; in that case, the conquest of the kingdoms mentioned before, would meet with more opposition and difficulties, as the crown would have a more immediate interest in the preservation of these provinces, if annexed to it: consequently this important enterprize, must take place whilst the English company remain in possession of the Bengal provinces, and have neither power, nor assistance from the government sufficient to frustrate our designs.

The grand plan will be to make an alliance offensive and defensive with the Mogul, to restore him not only to his supremacy, but to help him to subdue all the nabob's and rajah's who have taken advantage of the troubles of the empire, to make themselves independent, and to reduce them to their original state of tributary vassals; and the Ganges becoming the boundary of his empire, he will

will have a great accession of power and territories by the subduing without assistance the provinces of Bengal and the nabob of Oude. And in this manner the peninsula within the Ganges being divided betwixt the French and the Mogul, the natives will be rescued from the state of abjection, in which they are kept by a number of petty tyrants, oppressive and rapacious. After these achievements, I would keep an army of twenty thousand regular and well disciplined Europeans in constant pay, for the preservation and security of these dominions. All the military establishment and civil officers, with all expences for erecting fortifications, or keeping them in repair, to be paid by the king of France, from certain revenues arising from demesnes allotted to his majesty, with a considerable share in the diamond mines, collected by proper officers appointed by him.

Those who intend to become proprietors of the new company, to pay each fifty thousand livres to defray the charges of the expedition, and fifty thousand livres more for a joint stock, in consideration of which they will enjoy all the exclusive advantages arising from commerce; they are to build their magazines, and store houses at their sole expence, to build yearly a certain number of ships, and to provide with proper officers and seamen for the voyage. The sale of the East-India-goods will be at Port Lorent, Nantes, St. Malo, &c."

Whether this plan has been approved of in every point, is doubtful, especially as the landing of twenty thousand men is attended with many difficulties, besides the obstacles they may meet in their passage. Indeed the English company's military estab-

blishment in Bengal consists of but twelve battalions, as sufficient force in times of peace and safety ; but inadequate to the number which the French may perhaps if unmolested, send into the East Indies. No European power ever so formidable, can make a rapid conquest of these provinces, without the concurrence of the regimented natives, who despicable as they might have been represented, are inured to the vicissitudes of that climate, and extremely useful for information.

Whoever observes the maxims of government of the English company, since they are become the sovereigns of Bengal, must acknowledge that they are diametrically opposite to those which they should have pursued for their preservation. They have raised against them the clamours of all the European powers settled on the Coromandel and the Malabar coasts, and disgusted the country powers to that point, that they will secretly connive, if not openly espouse the cause of an invader, with the hopes that new hostilities may occasion a happy revolution : even lord Clive foretold, that if the territories acquired were not carefully attended to, they would fall a prey to the arms of France.

Notwithstanding the titles and honours which the king had bestowed upon the heaven-born general, his lordship still aspired higher, and when at Bath in 1770, opened his mind on that subject to a commoner, who has great interest at court, and was lord C—'s bosom friend and confidant.

The noble lord having introduced the conversation on the political debates of the lower house, observed that indeed ministers or men who had the talents of orators, found their accounts in being
the

the people's representative's, and that even most peers by their friends or relations were desirous to preserve a parliamentary influence ; that for his part he would not give up this last point, if he was removed to the upper house ; but as he had no particular views for himself, he confessed he looked upon a peerage as an object of temptation, for a gentleman of a considerable fortune ; because this hereditary honour, in giving weight and adding lustre to a family, was almost a sure provision for the younger branches in civil or military capacity ; that if the honourable gentleman to whom he freely imparted his thoughts, could by his interest and his connections, procure him that additional dignity, he should shew him his gratitude in whatever manner, he should please to mention. The commoner started at first some difficulties, very likely to enhance the price of the favour ; but a selfish consideration made him at last promise that he should make application to a person who had always a free, though not a public access to the throne, and that in the course of a few months, he would be able to give lord Clive an answer.

Effectively the gentlemen soon waited upon the invisible agent, who was the most likely person to succeed in this transaction. But the answer from that quarter was, " Your employer knows to whom you intended to apply, and though I might succeed, was I to go to the fountain of titles and honours, as I having taken the resolution not to solicit any favours, when any person can guess that I have been instrumental in obtaining what he wishes for : I decline to appear in this affair : " however, as I would not have lord Clive think, that I am not
his

friend for certain reasons, which I shall explain you : I would have you apply personally to — who knows you have my approbation in any thing that you ask for yourself or your friends.

In regard to my motive for wishing that lord Clive should entertain a favourable opinion of me, I will impart you my design of providing for one of my younger sons, better than the — himself can.

You know in such a country as this, wealth is the only distinction amongst men ; whoever is rich can obtain for himself and procure to his friends seats in the legislature ; he can ask titles and honours, and make himself revered, even with moderate talents as a demi-god.

The experience we have had lately of men suddenly emerged from obscurity, after a residence of ten or twelve years in India, makes me sensible, that it is now the only soil, where a young man, who has spirit and connections can thrive. The gentlemen at the head of administration, and of his majesty's council, provided for as most of them are, cannot be put into competition in point of the rapid fortunes acquired by the company's principal servants, with the governors of their presidencies and the members of their council. If so many upstarts without merit, interest or connections, merely for having served the company a certain number of years, are returned to their native

devotion. As lord Clive, in spite of his enemies, still preserves a great ascendancy over the ruling servants of the Bengal provinces; I will send my son to the seat of this commercial empire, and with all the advantages of his birth and expectations, procure him powerful letters of recommendation from lord Clive, and some of the acting directors, which cannot fail of having the desired effect. This plan met with the approbation of the noble lord's creature, who a few days after had an opportunity to make an overture, conducive to lord Clive's ambitious views.

The answer was in the negative, with some mortifying reflections, on lord Clive's presumption!

That a man who went originally to the East Indies as a writer to the company, and who by a concurrence of 'lucky accidents,' made a fortune to which no prince of the royal blood could aspire, with titles and honourable decorations, fit for a man of noble extraction, should still raise his views to an English peerage, was an insult on many worthy persons, who had served the crown in high capacities, and not obtained that honour.

After this declaration, lord Clive was obliged to drop his design, and his friends his solicitations.

The noble lord having failed in his ambitious schemes, renewed his amorous pursuits; he was devoured at Bath by what the French called *moi*, and to diversify it, employed one of his agents in that honourable department, to sound the inclinations of a sprightly Irish widow, who it was supposed, had come to Bath to engage in a second wedlock, provided she could find a man who might answer her desires and expectations. Mrs. —, who

who is now in this metropolis, supported by the voluntary contribution of some old debauchees, was reckoned about five years ago a handsome woman, susceptible of the same sensations, which she was capable to inspire. "As she is of an easy access, his lordship's plénipo, by his assiduities and attention soon gained her confidence. The lady having observed his intimacy with her noble admirer, made him the subject of her inquiries.

"It seems sir," said Mrs. — that you are particularly acquainted with lord Clive, I have heard so many divers reports in regard to his lordship, that really my curiosity leads me to beg, you will indulge it, if not inconsistent with your connections with him."

"Madam," replied the gentleman, "a long acquaintance with his lordship, has fixed invariably my regard and my attachment to him; as for the different accounts you have had, respectively to his public and private character, a man who has acted such conspicuous parts on the grand theatre of this world, must expect to have as many censors as admirers. I have no objection to answer any questions you will be pleased to ask me, as I know all my answers, without partiality, will prepossess you, in his favour, had detraction and malice prejudiced you against him.

"As for his political and military conduct in India," continued she, "that's not properly the subject of a woman's disquisition. What I desire to know, is the use that he makes of his immense fortune, his social virtues and his private foibles. If riches can make men happy, his lordship's felicity must be complete. But I have observed, that he
seems

seems gloomy and thoughtful, instead of having that open and cheerful countenance, which indicates interior content and a serene mind."

"If you please to observe, madam, that his constitution has been unimpaired, by campaigns and forced marches in a burning and unhealthy climate; you cannot be surprized that after many toils and fatigues, he should not have the vivacities and levity of a young man nurtured at home on the lap of ease and luxury. He is undoubtedly one of the most wealthy subjects in Europe, and no man has done more acts of beneficence and charity, with less ostentation. He is liberal, compassionate and generous; and if he has foibles, they are of a kind inherent to our nature, and he may fairly impute them to these impressions, which amiable women are almost sure to make upon a man of feeling."

"I have heard, indeed," replied she, "That he is a man of gallantry, though I should not have thought so by his appearance:—besides, as he is a married man with a family, having passed his meridian, I hope for the honour of my sex, that none would accept of his lordship's proposals, but persons who have no reputation to lose."

From my own knowledge, I can assure you, that he is a good father and a civil husband; indeed his lady is an agreeable, sensible woman; but with all her accomplishments she cannot expect to have a phoenix in her husband.

Yes, madam, who are conversant with the polite world, must know that amongst married people of quality, a man who has but one favourite, is reckoned in our age continent and virtuous.

"I can"

“ I cannot say,” answered she, that I should like to be the wife or the favourite of such a man : but pray, if you do not think the question improper, Who is now the lady, - that has the occasional preference ? for I suppose the succession of his amours has been very rapid. ”

“ I must do him the justice to say, that he is not inconstant, when he finds a person worthy of an attachment. At this time I know, he has no ties but those of the national kind ; and there is actually a lady at Bath, whom he admires above all the women he has ever seen at home or abroad. ”

“ So I find,” replied Mrs. — “ That you are the confidant of his amours. ” “ No otherwise,” answered he, “ than I heard him say the other day, that he could not forbear envying the felicity of the man, who should ever be possessed of so many charms ; adding, that she was the most beautiful woman he ever beheld. I have only two more questions to ask, continued she, “ Has he put the ladies with whom he has been connected above the frowns of a merciless and censorious world ? Do I know the lady you speak of, and is she a person of character ? ” He answered, these questions in the affirmative, but postponed the discovery, till another opportunity. ”

As the ladies have commonly much penetration in these cases, Mrs. — who was not a lady of severe virtue, and had a great intuition into the hearts of men, with the suggestions of her vanity, assisted by lord Clive’s attentions, guessed that she was the object of his lordship’s pursuits ; and as her finances were rather low, she saw in the favourable account she had heard of his lordship’s generosity,

city, a prospect of being soon extricated from her difficulties. As she had received intelligence that my lord intended to leave Bath in a fortnight, there was no time to lose ; at the same time Mrs. — knew that men were apt to despise an easy conquest! In this dilemma, she thought my lord's plenipo was the most proper man to negotiate an amorous treaty with his lordship, without incurring the imputation of too ready a compliment to his desires ; she had an opportunity to converse with him, in the rooms that very evening, whilst his lordship was engaged at a party at whist, having lost three games successively, he declared that he was the most unlucky man upon earth, and retired to his apartments in disgust.

“ Well, madam,” said his agent in addressing Mrs. — “ have you found out the lady, whom his lordship has singled out among the fair strangers, who now reside in this place.” Though she was pleased at the question, she blushed and betrayed little *embarras*, which, however, was of short continuance. “ Indeed, Sir,” answered she, “ to be candid with you, I have observed that his lordship has been rather particular to me, but really I am afraid of such a connection, especially if my reputation was to suffer without any real advantages, to make me amends.” “ I understand you, madame,” answer the faithful agent, “ and to save your delicacy the disagreeable task of explaining yourself further on this subject, I will take upon myself to adjust the treaty ; which I dare say will be ratified to the satisfaction of both parties.”

The

The substance of it was, that my lord should pay down three hundred guineas, to acquit some debts, Mrs. — had contracted at Bath, and to enable her to provide a decent house, in London, to receive the visits of his lordship.

She was to leave Bath immediately, and the consummation was deferred till the first interview of the two lovers in the metropolis; in case their connection should not continue above one month, his lordship was to give the lady three hundred guineas more, on their separation. The articles of this treaty were reciprocally performed, my lord went to town two days after her newly and confederate, and found her according to the direction she had sent to a place agreed upon in Knight's-bridge. Their intimacy continued only one fortnight, at the expiration of which, he parted from her as a man of honour, punctual to his engagements.

Now Mrs. — who had found in lord Clive an *amoureux transi*, looked for one who in pecuniary matters was not to be compared to his lordship, though preferable to him in natural abilities. After she had satisfied her fancy, she sought for support amongst gentlemen of the mercantile profession, and having secured a comfortable annuity from them, does not confine herself to their cold embraces.

offensive and defensive, with the Morattas to wrest from the ravenous English, as they call them, the sovereign dominions they have usurped from the country's powers. It is conjectured, that the French, Dutch and Portuguese have jointly kindled the resentment of the confederates, and that they will secretly abet their hostile operations, if prevented by policy to give them an open assistance, as both the natives and the Europeans have been great sufferers, by the late revolutions caused by the English, and the iniquitous measures they have pursued ever since to oppress the Indians and annoy the trade of all foreign nations, they cannot expect to find an ally in the peninsula of Indus, to save them from ruin and destruction. This account is more alarming at this critical time, when the Americans have drawn the sword in their defence, and the government uncertain of the destination of the great armaments of Spain and France, cannot spare their forces to protect the company's settlements. It is astonishing that the attention of the legislature of this kingdom, has not been awakened to the dangerous consequences of temporary expedients, substituted to a constitutional and permanent system of government in the East Indies, which, notwithstanding all that has been said or written concerning the company's affairs, and the oppressive maxims of administration of their servants, have not yet met with any effectual redress or reformation. If the great acquisitions of the company deserved the attention of the mother country, should not proper measures have been adopted for the security of those dominions, surely the knowledge which the members of the legislature have had the opportunity

tunities of obtaining, from the late inquiries, was
 at least sufficient for forming a right judgment, of
 the danger within and without, to which these pos-
 sessions are exposed, and of the remedies necessary
 for removing so many dreadful evils and glaring
 abuses, or to prevent the utter ruin and total loss
 of this commercial empire. A fatal experience,
 will, I fear, soon convince the nation of their man-
 agers supineness and errors, for having neglected the
 information they had received, as it seems the time
 is come that we shall be deprived of the resources
 of an immense commerce, and probably of the pos-
 session of the very Asiatic territories; now become
 the objects of our rivals envy, and of the implac-
 able hatred of our natural enemies. Surely the im-
 portance of the eastern empire, should have roused
 Great Britain from its lethargy. It is a matter of
 the most weighty concern, to take all judicious
 measures, that human policy can dictate, to frus-
 trate the designs of our rivals in commerce and do-
 minions, in regard to the East Indies. The Asiatics
 settled within the territories of the company, are
 undoubtedly his majesty's subjects, as well as the
 British emigrants established in India. Though
 the pernicious system of the nabob makers and
 greedy resolutionists should have never met with
 the sanction of a well regulated and equitable go-
 vernment; as they case is, we should have made
 the natives as well as the British subjects, forget the
 horrid scenes of rapaciousness, cruelty, injustice and
 devastation, which have reflected on us a lasting
 disgrace, by a prosperous ad-^{mi}nistration at home
 and respectable abroad; for notwithstanding the
 prevailing notions of the case with which immense

fortunes have been acquired in these parts, from the examples that have been lately exhibited, there are at this time in Bengal many poor and industrious Britons, deprived even of the means of getting an honest livelihood, by their best endeavours, who are desirving the maternal care of their native country. The condition of his majesty's subjects, has been really worse than that of the Asiatics, as the retrospect of the freedom they were entitled to, is an aggravation to their misery, they have been sold to the leaders and unprincipled chiefs of an incorporated trading society for the sum of four hundred thousand pounds per annum. Much more valuable and permanent advantages might have been derived from thence with equity, as well as with reputation to government, while the preservation and interior prosperity of these Asiatic dominions might have been secured in the happiness of the inhabitants only, and the commercial interests of the deluded proprietors fixed on a solid basis.

It was not to be expected that the country powers would always tamely submit to the injuries and indignities offered to them by a society of mere traders, confined by charter to the employment of six ships, and six pinnacles yearly; that this company become sovereigns of extensive, rich, and populous kingdoms, to which they have no legal title, should sway in Indostan uncontrouled and unrivalled.

They have proved that if they had the craftiness and policy to gain valuable acquisitions, they had not the sagacity required to preserve and enjoy them. In this new situation of a mercantile society, so widely different from its original institution, even
their

their true commercial interests have been entirely misunderstood or neglected, and scarcely any public spirit has appeared among their leaders, either in England or India. Wealth and plunder have stimulated the ruling passions of their civil and military officers; all their solicitude was confined to accumulate lacks of rupees, and to provide for their children, needy relations or dependants, at the expence of the wretched inhabitants of the subjected dominions. These have been the maxims of the chief of the company on both sides the ocean. Thus Asia has experienced under a commercial oligarchy; the same fate it underwent, when subdued by triumphant Rome, and fell a prey to rapacious merchants, as it had to the speculation of Roman proconsuls.

The ostentatious servants of a trading company, after having imbrued their hands in the blood of the defenceless natives, and laid waste to this once flourishing empire, to serve their mercenary and iniquitous designs, have returned to England loaded with the spoils of sovereigns dethroned and nations oppressed; where intrenching themselves in borough or East-India stock influence, they have set justice at defiance, either in the cause of their country or injured innocence.

It is obvious to every rational being that the acquisitions of the East India company are become an object of the utmost importance to this nation, which it is to be feared may be involved in great difficulties, whenever the Indian dominions are lost, or whenever they are so impoverished as to render the possession of them unprofitable. Bengal and the provinces comprehended under this denomination are
entirely

entirely commercial countries, which can only flourish while trade is free and prosperous, the principles of which are invariably the same as in all climates, but since the affairs of Bengal and its dependencies have taken a ruinous course, Great Britain has been exposed to national disgrace, without reaping any advantage from the company's depredations. It is evident, that those countries cannot prosper while the company continue there undisturbed in their ridiculous claims of a commercial sovereignty; were it even possible, without altering their unconstitutional government, to free their affairs from the numberless inconveniences arising from the distance, between the seat of direction and the subjected provinces; the misinformation or ignorance, of proprietors and directors, the fluctuating state of parties, the consequent, absurd and contradictory orders which are continually sent out to India, and the want of due power in the company for controlling the servants abroad, which power can never be given to them consistently with the imperial dignity of these realms, will multiply the evils and grievances, instead of redressing them.

Monopolies of all kind are in their natures unavoidably pernicious, but an absolute government of monopolists, such as that introduced by lord Clive, and pursued ever since by his successors, must of all be the most dreadful. The East India company could not flatter themselves that the native princes could see, without indignation the soil, revenues, administration of justice and interior government of those countries entirely in their hands without check or controul. The prince whom they call mogul, though, reduced to the cruel necessity

to implore their assistance, will no longer be the mere instrument of their power, and be satisfied with the support of a secure pension, for serving their own private purposes, than he can otherwise re-assume by force of arms his authority. Neither the Europeans nor the natives are the dupes of the farce exhibited by nabobs of Bengal, who are the actual stipendiary servants of the company, and the despicable instruments of their tyranny. They are sensible that the dewanee, under which title they pretend to hold those territorial possessions, is a mere fiction, invented to countenance their monopolies and extortions, and particularly intended to impose on the British nation; and to secure the sovereignty of the country against domestic attempts and hostile invasion; though the disguise was too flimsy to deceive either the inhabitants of Indostan or other European nations, who have settlements in these countries. All the world knows that there is in Bengal no freedom of trade, in regard to the natives or foreign nations, though it is impossible that commerce should ever be flourishing and importantly beneficial to the British state, without a free intercourse. All branches of the interior Indian commerce, are without exception, monopolies of the most oppressive and ruinous natures, and so totally corrupted, from every species of abuse, or unjust restrictions, as to be in the last stage of stagnation. Civil justice has been eradicated, and millions left at the mercy of a few rapacious men, who divide the spoils of the public among themselves; while under such a cruel despotism, supported by military violence, the whole interior country, where neither the laws of England reach.

reached, or the customs of these countries were permitted to have their course, is worse than in a state of nature, as the pretended civilization introduced into these wretched provinces, is calculated not to relieve, but to distress the miserable inhabitants.

In this melancholy situation, whilst the poor industrious natives were oppressed beyond conception, population has been decreasing, the manufactories and revenues hastening to decay, and Bengal, which used not many years ago to send annually a tribute of several millions in hard specie to Dehly, has been reduced to this extreme want of circulation, that it is not improbable the company's white servants in Calcutta, have already been necessitated, in one season to draw above a million sterling on the directors, for the exigencies of their trade and government, will soon be in want of specie in Bengal to pay their troops, and have been pleading in England incapacity to pay the very annual four hundred thousand pounds, which government has a right to demand.

The natives of Bengal, whose miseries was a few years greatly increased by a calamitous famine, having long looked up in vain to this nation for relief, and bewailed their slavish abjection, have been rendered desperate in the pursuit of redress, and ready to join head and heart with the first power that shall happen to attack the English in these dominions.

Let those who place their security in the pretended indolence and effeminacy of the natives, recollect that they have learned from us, after repeated

peated defeats, to fight and to conquer. / These very natives now, fight our Indian battles; they have sometimes vanquished our enemies without a single musket being fired by our European troops, to whom they have on many occasions shewn themselves no ways inferior in personal courage. Perhaps, we owe the preservation of our eastern acquisitions to the exaggerated fame of our past achievements; and the power of the English in India, will cease to be formidable, as soon as it becomes well understood.

The same causes will ever produce like effects in all countries: the many must in time get the better of the few, by the same means whereby a handful of men conquered numerous armies. We know that the most despicable reptiles will turn when trod upon; and history abounds with instances of nations driven into madness by the cruelty of oppression.

The company's servants should have pursued the more laudable object, as most worthy of a civilized nation, celebrated for its humanity, to secure the hearts of the natives, by an impartial distribution of justice, and by the encouragement given to populousness and industry. Had not the natural antipathy of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, favoured the establishment of the European invaders, and secured their possessions, none of them should have oppressed so long the natives with impunity; and if the English had let justice hold the scale, their superiority might perhaps have been for ages maintained.

As we have observed before, the revenues of Bengal, Bihar, and part of Orissa, which the company collect, were on Lord Clive's arrival in India,

dia; estimated to amount to upwards of three millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum; and by proper management they might with ease have been improved by this time to six millions. Besides, England might have derived immense commercial advantages from those territories; but, at present, under the ridiculous plan of a double government, they are every way exhausted by plunder and oppression; and while this nation is gazing after the fruit, the company and their substitutes are suffered to be rooting up the tree.

The different interests of the company as sovereigns of Bengal; and, at the same time, as monopolizers of all the trade and commerce of these countries operate in direct opposition, and are naturally destructive of each other, the governor's select committees and councils of Calcutta, have pursued without controul, the most pernicious systems, by which the possessions in Bengal have been beggared, and this kingdom deprived of resources, which might have contributed to raise it to a state of prosperity and power almost beyond example.

An unlimited power can scarce exist without oppression, and governments, when at a great distance from the controlling power, are naturally subject to a corrupt administration of justice; none have ever exhibited greater proofs of the tyrannical disposition of men, when invested with unquestionable authority, than some of the chief servants of the company in India. The measures that should have been taken, at the conclusion of the late peace, for the prevention of such evils, and for establishing the permanent prosperity of the sub-

jected provinces, could never be expected from the company, particularly while it continued with a constitution so defective and so inadequate to the present allured state of its affairs.

It was the wisdom and the power of the legislature alone that could have prevented the total ruin or loss of the Bengal provinces, either of which misfortunes might now prove fatal in its consequences to this kingdom. This could have been affected, by enacting salutary laws, for securing the impartial administration of justice throughout these dominions; for preventing the commission of those oppressions and irregularities, which have of late years prevailed, to the disgrace of a British government; for effectually punishing in India the authors of such enormities, and for improving with permanency those resources, which the nation had a right to expect from these valuable acquisitions. Such laws would have equally tended to promote the desirable object of regaining and securing an interest in the hearts of the subjected natives; who expected protection and happiness from a British sovereign; in which state of things this nation might have long possessed the Bengal provinces, even against the combined efforts of Indian enemies and European rivals.

All pleas of the company grounded on such charters as are not wholly constitutional, should be treated with the contempt they deserve, when construed as a defence for obstructing these inquiries, or preventing the most effectual intervention of parliament, for securing these grand objects of true national policy, the wisdom of the legislature should have also established due security against any

unconstitutional influence of military power, as it has proved equally ruinous to these countries, the company, and this kingdom.

Many having lately persuaded the public to believe, that we may securely rely on the passive and resigned disposition of the natives of the acquired countries, and the timid disposition of Indians in general, for our secure possession of these provinces, it may be necessary at this juncture, to shew such opinions to be enormous; and that the preservation of them must depend more on our wisdom and justice, than on our military and maritime power.

There can be no just grounds for our supposing there have not at all times been people of valour in India, it is well known that many of the Indian powers have large and well disciplined native armies, of both horse and foot so likewise the seapoys in the service of the English East India company are brave, well trained, and able bodied men, perhaps no people have more distinguished themselves by fortitude and resolution, in a variety of sufferings, than the East Indians. The severities of their voluntary religious penances are almost incredible; they have frequently submitted to be maimed, nay, would often die under torture, rather than discover concealed wealth to the ruin of their families, even their very women, who live sequestered from the world, and of course are unexperienced in such difficulties and misfortunes as serve to fortify the mind and heart, or such troubles as will render life irksome, or impel to desperation, often manifest such fortitude as amazes Europeans; they voluntarily brave horrid deaths,

when

when burned alive with the dead bodies of their husbands on funeral piles.

There are several nations in India, now living under distinct governments of their own, who never were subdued by the moguls, though indeed most of them at times, have been their tributaries. They, however, never were able to make the Marattas either their subjects or their tributaries. These people are governed by an aristocracy of rajahs of the Hindoo religion, who for many ages have done more than defended themselves, for they have imposed tributes on most of their neighbours; and at last even obliged the famous mogul Aurengzebe to submit to the mortifying and dishonourable terms of paying them, a chout or annual tribute, of the fourth part of the revenues of the Deccan, so that it might be said, the emperor thereby not only acknowledged their independency of himself, but likewise their joint right of sovereignty with him over those provinces that produce the revenues, out of which the chout was paid.

This chout, or tribute was continued to be received by the Marattas, from the mogul, even long after the revenues of the Deccan provinces had ceased to be paid unto the royal treasury at Dehly; for, in the year 1740, when the deputies of the king of Sittarah arrived as usual at Dehly, to receive the chout, they were told by the mogul's ministry, " that Nader Shah, had lately so
 " exhausted the treasury, that the emperor was
 " rendered utterly incapable of satisfying their
 " demands, the more especially, as the revenues
 " of the Bengal provinces, had been withheld from
 " the

“ the year 1738, by the rebellion of Allaverdy
 “ Khawn, who in conjunction with his brother
 “ Hagee Ahmed, had usurped the government of
 “ that Subadahry; they requesting at the same
 “ time, that the deputies would entreat their mas-
 “ ter in the emperor’s name, to send an army of
 “ sufficient force to exact the amount of the chout
 “ that was due to them, and also to take the heads
 “ of Allaverdy and his brother, and restore the
 “ family of Sujah Kawn to the subahship; as the
 “ distracted state of the empire put it out of his
 “ power to send a force strong enough to reduce
 “ the two rebels.”

Thus power was given to the Marattas by a
 real mogul, upon the loss of the Deckan, to levy
 their tribute on the Bengal provinces, in-lieu of
 what they had received as their chout from the
 Deckan revenues. But the truth was, the revenues
 of both subahs were alike lost to the mogul; so
 that his ministers may be supposed to have given
 such an answer merely to get rid of a troublesome
 demand, though even made without justice. How-
 ever, the Marattas excepted of the transferred
 pledge with the service annexed to it, which had
 the appearance of giving them likewise a new ti-
 tle to their chout, and they accordingly proceeded
 to act from those powers for both purposes. An ar-
 my of eighty thousand horse was expeditiously
 sent by them into the Bengal provinces, under the
 command of Botkar Pundit, who after explaining
 the nature of his powers, demanded of the usurper
 Allavardy Khawn, “ three years of the chout, the
 treasury of the two late subahdars, and that in fu-
 ture an officer of their own should have a seat in
 every

every catcherry throughout the provinces, to collect the fourth part of the revenues on their behalf. These demands being refused with extreme indignation, preparations were of course made for a decision by arms the first consequence of which was, that Allavardy found himself in so dangerous a situation, as with twenty five thousand Patna and Bengal soldiers to be necessitated to force his way desperately through the whole Maratta army, and make a fighting retreat from Burdwan to the opposite side of the river at Cuttah, which he effected in three days, with the loss of all his men, except five and twenty hundred Patnas and fifteen hundred of his Bengal forces. During the continuation of this war, which was to the latter end of the year 1747, one of the brothers, Hagee Ahmed, was put to death in a very cruel and ignominious manner. The other, Allaverdy Khawn, though not unsuccessful in the field, after performing many extraordinary exploits, from immense profusions of blood and treasure, found it necessary to purchase peace of the Marattas with the cession of the Cuttah, and the payment of an annual chout of twelve lacks of rupees (150,000l.)

The English East India company have since got possession of Bengal, Bahar, and so much of Orissa as had been preserved by the latter nabobs; and there have been negotiations entered into by their servants with Maratta Rajahs concerning the chout, in consequence of which the court of directors were informed from their president and council in Bengal, under date of the 5th of January 1768 that they had assembled an army at Berar, and by dispatches of the 29th of the following month, they were

were farther advised, that “ The president since Mahommed Reza Khawn’s arrival in Calcutta, had in conjunction with that minister had several conferences with the Maratra Vakeel, or agent, on the subject, who assured them that his master would not listen to any accommodation for the cession of Cuttack and consideration for the cheat, on any other terms than the annual payment of sixteen lacks of rupees (200,000) to be accounted for from the time the company took charge of the Dewannee of these provinces, and the select committee on their behalf; to be guarentees for the nabobs faithful performance of the treaty. In support of the propriety of these demands, here cited, the promise made to his master by Mr. Vansittart, in the year 1763, of paying all arrears of the chout on condition that he did not join his forces to the troops of the nabob Cossim Ally Khawn; and laid much stress on the assurance given him by lord Clive, that when ever the treaty should be concluded with them, the annual sum stipulated for, should commence from the time the company were invested with the Dewannee of the provinces. After many debates, the Vakeel consented, with assurances of his master’s concurrence also; that the rents which have been collected in Orissa during the above period, should be set against the annual arrears which he demanded. ”

By such agreements (proceed the governor and council) and a proper examination of their accounts, the arrears will be considerably diminished; and although we must expect, from the distracted state of the Maratta government, that they have not collected the whole amount of the revenues of
that

that province, yet we have reason to believe, that under your government, and the immediate inspection of your servants, they may in time amount to, if not exceed the annual tribute demanded.

As this was a matter which we deemed of the highest importance, so it has engaged our most serious attention. When we consider the many benefits which must naturally result from thus uniting the company's territories on the coast, with your valuable possessions in Bengal; a step which will complete the chain of your influence and dominions, from the banks of the Caramassa to the farthest extremity of the coast of Coromandel; a measure that must tend so greatly to the preservation of both settlements, by their mutual support which at all times it will enable them to give to each other; the removing at once every pretence of the Marrattas from disturbing the peace and tranquility of these provinces, and the shock it will give to their strength and power, whenever it may be found necessary, to separate so principal a member as Janoogee, one of their most formidable chiefs, who during the course of his negotiations, has expressed an earnest desire to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with us. All these considerations having been attentively weighed and debated in committee, we resolved to acquiesce in the proposals of the Vakeel, and to bring the treaty to as speedy a conclusion as possible. The president has accordingly signified our assent in a letter to Janoogee, and has requested of the nabob to agree to it on his part.

Thus we see negotiations were long ago on the carpet between the Marattas and the English
East

East India company, not only for the re-establishment of their chout, or tribute, but even for the payment of arrears from the time of our acquiring these territories. What has been farther done in these matters, we pretend not to say; but it is known in India, and the company has received advice from thence, that there are important points which the Marattas have in view, and that they will persevere in the pursuit of them.

The Marattas are in possession of a very extensive country, and their husbandmen and manufacturers, are on their militia establishment, being all bred to arms, and heretofore entirely cavalry, they are enterprising from long practice, and ever ready to march out of their country to ravage the territories of, or impose tribute on their neighbours, or for any other purpose. They are naturally cruel and ferocious, inasmuch, that their rapaciousness often prompt them to maim and massacre as well as lay waste extensive territories; they often torture to extort discoveries, when they think treasures are concealed.

They are grown of late much more formidable. In the expedition above-mentioned, in 1742, they almost instantly marched an army of eighty thousand horse into the Bengal provinces; the remains of which being obliged to retire the next year to their own country, two more armies each of sixty thousand horse, were directly sent on the same service, and their point was at last carried. They are universally acknowledged to be, by far, the most powerful of all the Hindoo nations. *They have shewn they were greatly an over-match for Hyder Ally; and, as of late years, they have been*
form-

forming an infantry, which will become a regular force; should they make it numerous and well disciplined, they will soon be able at any time to swell their numbers to what degree they please, as according to an exact calculation, no less than one fourth part of the natives of Indostan, taking the country throughout, are soldiers of fortune, who from discontent, or for the sake of plunder, will be ever ready to join them in any undertaking, from which advantage can be expected; so that a great military power in India, may at any time be soon formed. Therefore, the ruling powers in this kingdom should be always greatly on their guard, lest an ignorant and iniquitous administration in India should provoke the natives to an universal defection, and seek for relief and protection under the standard of these ravagers.

From the plunders and miseries which the natives of Bengal have experienced, from frequent changes of masters, and the entire want of legal protection and justice, no doubt can be entertained, that the most valuable people in these provinces, who are the husbandmen and the manufacturers, would quietly submit to any government that should treat them with more humanity, and particularly follow their avocations, as long as they find themselves able to subsist by their labour and their industry. But whenever that end cannot be obtained, they will certainly seek refuge from intolerable misery, by any kind of desperation.

The single object which an oppressed people have in view, is to free themselves by any means from the present tyranny, and to trust to chance for whatever may follow: and we should be very

weak to suppose the people of Bengal can ever want instigators to an insurrection, or supporters to a revolt.

Great Britain, by these acquisitions, is exposed to the shafts of envy, of the powers of Europe and Asia, who will not scruple, either separately or jointly, by any means whatever, to deprive her of possessions of such importance.

Thus it appears evidently, that there is a native power now in India, which may be considered at this time as extremely formidable to the company; being masters of a great part of India, and by late acquisitions, in actual possession of the greater part of Orissa, which they now hold as a pledge, and which to be re-annexed to the company's dominions, must in effect be purchased by the payment of arrears: and the company's servants must likewise be sureties for the payment of an annual tribute in future, of two hundred thousand pounds only, because demanded of them by an Indian nation, dreaded on account of its power and vicinity.

Such is the precarious state of the British dominions in Bengal, entrusted to the care of the company's mercenary servants, whose government has been rendered hateful to the natives by oppressions, has occasioned the emigrations of myriads of people, is in general odious to all the Indian princes, disgusting to many European powers, and tyrannical in the extreme, towards their resident fellow subjects. From all these and other circumstances, mentioned in the course of this history, let the judicious and the impartial judge of the degree of security the state can have in these possessions, that
the

the most oppressive conduct and the worse policy have deprived of all means of defence and resources, in case of an invasion from potent rivals.

It is conjectured that these warlike and numerous tribes of Morattas, whose bold and active spirits have so often spread terror and desolation in Hindostan, have engaged by a treaty with the mogul, to begin hostilities in the Bengal provinces, in consequence of their claims of the fourth part of the revenues arising from this subahship; that they will increase their demands in proportion to their successful depredations; and probably bid defiance at last to the king of Dehly himself, in insisting on the absolute cession of the commercial empire, should they conquer it by force of arms.

Shah Allum the present king of Dehly, and the vizier Sujah al Dowlah, nabob of Oude, having politically been reconciled, and forgot for their reciprocal interest. Their mutual injuries, look upon their former treaties with the company as extorted from necessity, and no longer binding than the first opportunity that shall offer to recover their independency.

The mogul who would have granted away the remainder of his empire, for the sake of a subsistence and the security of his empire, whilst in the hands of the company's servants, has changed his tone, and the ambitious views of his ministers and counsellors, since his return to Dehly seem bent on restoring him to the absolute power and dominion of Hindostan, with the hopes of sharing without fear or controul his increased wealth and authority. They have represented to his majesty, that if fortune had reduced so low the greatest monarch

narch of the East, as to become the pensioner of a company of traders, with the scanty allowance of twenty-six lacks for his expences and the support of his dignity, - with the limited possession of Corra, and part of the province of Illahabad, out of these extensive and fruitful dominions to which he had an indisputable title, and part of which the company had usurped in the troubles of the empire, and holding the Subahship of Bengal under his sanction, now that he could make a powerful alliance to renounce his engagements with a tyrannical mercantile society, and free himself and his oppressed subjects from an ignominious bondage, all the world would admire his spirit and magnanimity ; as he was not left to the free management of even these districts, and the stipend which were ultimately allotted to him ; nor of his mints and his servants.

In consequence of these representations, they have pointed out to him an alliance with the nabob of Oude, and the Moratta's ; the first as a spirited prince equally averse to the English yoke, and whose assistance was worth the cession of a province or two ; the Moratta's, as a warlike enterprising nation, who looked upon the Bengal provinces as part of their property, and no doubt would make good their claims, in attacking at once that part of Orissa which belongs to the company, and their settlement in the isle of Bombay. Having thus encouraged this weak and indolent prince to free himself from such an inglorious dependance, a long manifesto in Persian language has been dispersed through all the provinces of the empire, of which

they

the substance from a Portuguese translation is as follow :

“ Shah Allum the invincible king of the world, &c.
To all the Subahs, Rajahs, Zemindars, Hindoos,
and all faithful and loving subjects of our empire,
greeting.

The universe still resounds with the warlike exploits, wisdom and magnanimity of the invincible Toemoor Lung, who conquered Hindostan the 800th year of the higeria of our holy prophet.

Babar, one of his illustrious descendants got possession of Dehly, now my imperial residence, and seating himself with the unanimous acclamations of his new subjects on the throne of Hindostan, was properly the founder of our great empire in India, which has continued to flourish for near three centuries, with various degrees of fortune, splendor and prosperity.

All the world knows that the principles of the Mogul government have been so moderate and mild, that while the empire was ruled by the sovereigns of this heroic race, before the Europeans had presumed to aspire to share the sovereignty of their royal benefactors, no people upon earth were more happy and prosperous than the blessed subjects of this empire. The court of Dehly always appeared ready to give every kind of encouragement to the commercial intercourse of other nations, with the natives of Hindostan, and was equally inclined to favour any commerce, which their own subjects had discovered a propensity to prosecute with distant countries, without disti

on

on of sect and nation, as the toleration of the Mahomedan government never precluded on account of religion or country, the Indian subjects, or those who traded with them, from any benefit they could derive from commerce.

All people who went to deal in India, found welcome, and indulgence from the sovereigns of the country, who give an equal encouragement to the spirit of foreign commerce, as to the manufactures established by the natives of India; which had invited many sovereigns of distant climes to send their subjects, to exchange the products of their country with the fruits of our subjects industry. Such was the case, in respect to England; the great queen Elizabeth, and her successor obtained for the merchants, adventurers of that island all the protection, that the sovereigns of a civilized nation could grant to Asiatics; notwithstanding our royal progenitors could have established in their dominions a maritime power, which must equally have added to their political importance and national strength. Such was their confidence in the good faith of European powers, that they neglected establishments, which though dictated by sound policy, might have given umbrage and implied some mistrust of the foreign merchants trading on our coasts. Their ideas of the advantages resulting from manufactures, induced them to give such encouragement to the Europeans, as to diminish considerably their own revenues, by this indulgence.

The lands of Hindostan were principally the property of the moguls, and almost the whole of their income arose from the rents of them; the
rest

rest of their revenues consisting of little else than a few low rated port and inland duties. Yet so very attentive were they always to the manufacturing interest, and of course to the welfare of their people, that in the prosperous times of the mogul government, the rents of their lands were always kept extremely low ; though of late years, the rates of them have been tripled by the usurpers of Bèngal.

The ancient laws of Hindostan, indeed prohibited any advancement of the rents of the lands, on those who really occupied them ; not could the agreements be violated that were made with such tenants, so long as they continued their regular payment ; which surely may be considered as remarkable instances of royal attention to the welfare of the state, the happiness and effectual protection of the people, and of extraordinary moderation in absolute princes, especially in so interesting an object as that of their royal revenues ; for these rents were made to answer almost every purpose of taxation for supporting the establishments of a splendid court, and of a great empire. Such was the wise and benignant internal policy, and such were the humane and just laws of the Eastern sovereigns. By these regulations, provisions were rendered cheap, and as there were no kinds of burthensome levies on the people of Hindostan, the rates of all labour were consequently very low ; so that manufactures were thereby so favourable in prices, that they forced their own sale into the remotest part of the globe ; which caused such treasures to stream from all quarters, into those countries that produced them, as kept Hindostan en-

riched

riched beyond comparative examples in the records of time. The pernicious innovations introduced since, by a rapacious mercantile society, with a total change of a policy admired by millions benefited by it, have of late years as rapidly impoverished the provinces of this distracted empire.

In order to encourage the purchase of such manufactories, the sovereigns of Indostan manifested equal wisdom and generosity in granting to foreign traders, their royal firmauns of exemption from the payment of all duties, which was lessening another branch of the revenue, for the generous purpose of promoting public prosperity; the reverse of which has been lately practised either by the ignorance or tyranny of proud and cruel usurpers.

It must have been then the fault of the Hindoo people, and not of the government, that India did not many ages past, figure as much in commerce abroad, as in manufacturing at home; she might not only have acquired the valuable arts of the European nations, many of which she is yet much in want, but probably such maritime power as might have effectually protected her against any nation on that element.

The exemptions from such duties to favour a beneficial trade carried on by foreigners, were certainly wise measures; as were likewise the fixing low import duties on this necessary or useful; and more especially they served to promote a mutual traffic, which, upon the whole, had been found to be extremely profitable.

But

But so entirely did the principles and manners of the Hindoos prevent their visiting foreign countries, that not only all their distant maritime commerce, but even their traffic by caravans from the back parts of their own country, together with most of their coasting, and much of their inland trade were prosecuted by foreigners. To which causes must have been greatly owing their weakness in past times, and their present wretched subjection to a body of the trading subjects of one of the most distant potentates on the globe. Indeed a free intercourse with remote countries would not have less tended to strengthen them as a military than a maritime power; because all the great improvements, which in late ages have been made in the art of war, were of European invention.

That the mogul empire, in the days of its splendor, was one of the richest and the most extensive in the world, is indisputable. The revenues of Hindostan, whilst in its flourishing state, before the invasion of Nader Shah, in the reign of Aurangzebe, as specified to have amounted to thirty-seven millions seven hundred and twenty-four thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds sterling.

It appears that the yearly revenue of Shah Saleem, son and successor of the great Akbar, was rated at fifty millions sterling.

The subahs, or greater government, were rated as follows, according to the computation at the court of Dehly by Dams, which are reckoned at forty for each standard on Sicca rupees, and each rupee at two shillings and six-pence.

Subahs	Pounds Sterling.
Dehly - - -	3,818,594 3 6
Agra - - -	3,583,625 10 0
Azmeer - - -	2,038,579 5 0
Illahabad - - -	1,426,697 13 0
Panjab - - -	2,581,661 16 8.
Oude - - -	1,907,274 10 0
Multan - - -	670,134 3 6
Cabool - - -	503,248 0 0
Cashmeer - - -	718,473 2 4
Guzerat - - -	1,899,529 3 6
Bengal - - -	1,639,488 5 0
Bahar - - -	1,272,378 2 6
Orissa - - -	3,358,178 17 6
Saind - - -	286,927 10 0
Dowlahabad - - -	3,234,203 9 0
Malva - - -	1,262,192 13 6
Berar - - -	1,918,828 2 6
Khandeish - - -	1,401,969 0 0
Bedr - - -	1,165,545 0 0
Hyderabad - - -	3,479,250 0 0
Vizapore - - -	3 369,703 2 6
Tams 12,071,876,840	£ 37,724,615 2 6

We beg leave to make here a little digression

Every person well acquainted with Hindostan will allow, if the above sum found its way into the king's treasury at Dehly, that it may with a moderate calculation be admitted, twice that sum at least was collected from the tenants or husbandmen. The revenues of the lands are very nearly in a quadruple proportion to the rents of them. By revenues is meant the sum paid to the sovereign, and by

by rents, the sum paid from the original cultivator of the soil, in estimating them at only half the value the rents of the lands amount to upwards of seventy-five millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the annual produce in the beginning of this century

When Nadar Shah invaded Dehly about the beginning of the year 1739 The throne of the emperor Mahommed Shah, known throughout Hindostan by the name of Tukhte Taoos, or the Peacock Throne, as taken by that conqueror, was valued at ten crores of rupees, or above twelve millions and a half sterling, which together with the other regalia, treasure, and valuables, that Nadar and his nobles carried away with them, amounted in the whole to no less than eighty millions sterling. The computation of the damage otherwise done to the capital and its inhabitants on this occasion, is scarce credible The manifesto continues as follows

“ The purity, strictness, and equity of the ancient Hindostan government, inspired all foreign nations who resorted to this great empire, with awe and veneration. Here the property as well as the liberty of the people were inviolate, here no robberies were heard of either private or public the traveller, either with or without merchandize, on his entering Hindostan, became the immediate care of government, which allotted him guards without any expence, to conduct him from stage to stage, and these were accountable for the accommodation of his persons and effects

“ The laws of Hindostan were wisely instituted as barriers against oppression, and continued in force

ill the invasion of Nader Shah, till then there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce, and agriculture flourished exceedingly; and none felt the hand of oppression but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power. For till these very few years, that the English company have precluded all nations from a free intercourse with the peninsula of Indos, merchants were no where better protected, nor more at their ease than under this government; nor is there a part of the world where arts and agriculture have been more cultivated, of which the vast plenty and variety of manufactures, and the rich merchants were proofs sufficient.

“The immemorial customs and usages of Hindostan, founded on reason, and the Keran were calculated for the happiness of man living in society. They were the infallible guides of the officers of the government. Hindostan-favoured by nature for commercial advantages, and Bengal, the paradise of nations, produced in great abundance, every thing requisite for the support and enjoyment of life. The inland navigation of several provinces of this empire, made it convenient for the purpose of trade, and the natural fertility of the soil, every where assisted by periodical rains, rendered the cultivation of the earth an inviting task, and so easy as to afford the husbandman great leisure for application to other useful arts.

Dehly was in the times of its prosperity a receptacle, into which the gold and silver of the greatest part of the world had been flowing by regular channels for ages, till foreign invaders interrupted its course. This great influx of wealth was
owing,

owing, first to the extraordinary fruitfulness of the depeudent dominions, secondly, to the sober industry of the inhabitants, either applied to agriculture which was greatly encouraged, or to manufacturing those commodities which have for many ages been in esteem throughout the world, and, thirdly, to the strong protection granted to merchants

The encouragement of foreign and domestic trade was more particularly necessary in the subahship of Bengal, which containing no mines of diamonds, gold, or silver, depended solely upon its manufactories, which alone could enable these provinces to pay so considerable a tribute annually to the court of Dehly. But since the English have ravaged and depopulated this valuable part of my dominions, there is neither freedom nor safety for the husbandman or the manufacturer

Nothing can afford a more striking example of the instability of human power, than the contrast which now appears in this distracted empire. Ever since the invasion of Nader Shah, the scourge of mankind, Hindostan has been torn by intestine wars and foreign foes. Every subahdar, or goveroor of a province, availing himself of the weakness of Mahomed Shah, and regardless of the firmauns from the court of Dehly, set up for himself, murderers and usurpers, Europeans and natives, soon abolished all laws, and established usages, and spread devastation and misery throughout the empire. The country was now rent by civil dissensions, and grieved under every species of domestic calamity. Villary was practised in every form, all law and religion were trodden under foot, the bands of private friendship

ships and connections, as well as of society and government were broken, and every individual as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm.

Though the kings of Hindostan have at different times resided at some favourite city, as Azmeer, Canouge, Agra, and Futtehpoor, the rites of coronation have been always performed at Dehly, as well as in general all acts of government; these considerations have engaged us to keep our court in this seat of empire, notwithstanding the groundless jealousies and apprehensions of the English company. Many of the successors of Aurengzebe have like us suffered all the vicissitudes of a cruel fate, for having been the lawful heirs to a throne. After the death of Nader Shah, three kings were successively murdered, the next was deprived of his sight, with shocking circumstances of barbarity, and a child proclaimed afterwards king for form, sake, and Hindostan was left during this minority a prey to his rapacious officers, who plundered with impunity the distant provinces. Several princes of the blood have been taken into dark and frightful dungeons in the very seat of their royal progenitors majesty, sometimes released and raised to pompous titles without a shadow of power, only to give an apparent sanction to the wicked measures of the usurpers of royal authority; in this sort of interregnum, the emperors themselves became instruments of oppression in the hands of traitors and blood-suckers. Thus an Omrah, pay-master of the troops, dethroned Ahmud Shah, his master and benefactor, from this dangerous precedent may be dated the numberless calamities, which have be-

fallen

fallen this once flourishing empire. Divers competitors aspired to the musnud, and almost all the provinces which were then tributary to Dehly having been disunited in these times of anarchy and distraction, became so many separate independent governments.

The rebellious Omrah, who had seated himself on the throne of Hindostan, sent to prison his lawful sovereign, where several princes of the royal blood were also confined. He afterwards compelled a surgeon who had been long in the king's service to put out his majesty's eyes. After this barbarous deed he took out of prison another prince, whom he invested with the ensigns of royalty, without power; this unhappy prince refusing to be longer an instrument of his villainy, was treacherously assassinated by the ruffian.

After Allum Guen had been thus sacrificed to the cruel ambition of the usurper, he released another prince from captivity, and seated him in the like manner on the throne of Dehly, stained with the blood of his royal victims; but the invasion of the Dehly provinces by the Marattas, having prevented new assassinations, and defeated his pernicious designs, he flew like a cowardly villain, into a distant retreat to hide his crimes and the horrors of his guilt.

Shah Jehan, the last emperor of his creation, having sat in royal pageantry on the throne of Dehly, was suddenly deposed and again imprisoned by the victorious Marattas, who placed Jewan in his stead, as the lawful and undoubted heir to the empire of the line of Tamerlane, and eldest son of Allum Guen

Gueen, after having been like other princes kept a state prisoner by the usurper.

Akhmat Abdalla, who had conquered the northern provinces ceded to Persia by Mahomed Shah, and was at this time grown very powerful, in the confusion which ensued upon Nadar Shah's death, invaded Hindostan; he fought several battles with the Marattas; and, upon his second invasion of Dehly gave them a total overthrow, and confirmed the appointment made by the Marattas of the young prince Jewan, now circumscribed in authority to the Dehly provinces, and the annual tribute to be paid by the young nominal king, for the provinces confirmed upon him, being settled, Abdallah returned to his own country.

Providence having interposed in the mean time in our behalf, by a sort of miraculous release from the person where we and our brothers had been shut up from our cradle at Dehly, we experienced numberless hardships and calamities, we led a vagrant wretched life, without assistance or relief from our vassals, till Gazi al Deen confined us again by his usual arts and perfidy, we had the good luck and resolution to break a second time these ignominious chains, and having sought refuge with a Maratta chief, he afforded us protection for some months, in order to ravage the country in our name. Compassionating the miseries of our subjects to whom we have a true paternal affection, we applied in vain for support and advice to Nigel al Dowlah, and thus friendless and destitute we at last went over to Sujah al Dowlah, subahdar of Oude, who having also made himself independent during the
trou

troubles of the empire, dismissed us from his dominions with a small present.

After so many rebuffs and disasters, we flew to the nabob of Illahabad, with whom we concerted a plan for invading and taking possession of the territories of Bengal; which Allum Guëer our father, of glorious memory had granted us; as a singular mark of his royal favour.

The English East-India company governor, then colonel Clive, had usurped them from Serajah al Dowlah, and bestowed this valuable subahdery, our property on the traitor Meer Jaffier.

Had we been powerfully supported, and the Zemindars engaged in this expedition acted with spirit and perseverance; we might have conquered by the sword our paternal inheritance. Such an indignity was offered to our supremacy, that colonel Clive, at the requisition of his new made nabob, marched to punish the rajahs for their loyalty in following our standards. Though we declared to the colonel, we had no intentions against Meer Jaffier's life; and that our principal object was to get an army to make head against the vizier, which, if it pleased God to favour our cause; the colonel might command for the company or himself the greatest advantages. In a conference with the nabob's son and ministers, it was agreed, that they could not consistently with their means of policy, give an assylum to a prince of the blood in any of the provinces. As the colonel accompanied his denial with a respectful present, we were sensible of this courtesy; and sent word to him, that such was our confidence in his honour and generosity, that we were inclined to put our royal person under his safe guard; his evasive answer was, that acting

under the Subahdar's orders, he could not advise us to put ourselves in his power whereupon, we were obliged to seek for some other refuge, and the colonel to intimidate us and the neighbouring powers from ever disturbing the Bengal provinces again, thought fit to shew his resentment to Sujah al Dowlah, who had assisted us, by upbraiding him for having presumed to send forces into his country, as he must have known the inviolable friendship subsisting between him and the nabob, and that if the nabob still persisted in assisting his enemies, he would in that case, decide the contention with the sword At that time, it was not consistent with the views and policy of the English in Bengal to acknowledge our authority, though the company on the Malabar coast, made use of our sanction for taking our port and city of Surar The apology of Mr Spencer, afterwards governor of Bengal, on this occasion, is a piece of too glaring sophistry, to omit here the insertion of it at large.

A representation made to the mogul, by John Spencer, in behalf of the honourable English East India company, 1759 "That by virtue of royal firmans of your majesty's predecessors, the English hitherto enjoyed favour at Surat, and carried on their business in a reputable manner, till in these days, that the Siddees usurping an undue authority in town, used it to the ruin of the city in general, the lives and properties of your majesty's subjects being made light of by them, and they even proceeded so far as to take away the lives of our people, in direct breach of his majesty's firman. And in short, instead of being the protectors of the place, became the oppressors of it to
such

such a degree, that the just orders of your majesty were no ways regarded in this city by their means; and things were come to this pass, that though in consideration of the revenue appropriated by your majesty for the maintenance of a fleet at Surat, the Siddee was to protect the bar; yet so far was he from doing it, that for many months past a large fleet of Sanaragee punts (Ballagee Row's Naib) entirely shut up the bar, as did a large land force by land, to the infinite detriment of the place and inhabitants in general, without the Siddee's interfering therein; and there was the greatest reason to believe, that unless speedy and vigorous measures had soon been pursued, your majesty's famous city of Surat, the only port of good Mussulmen to the tomb of your prophet, would have been brought to shame.

In such circumstances, the eyes of the whole town were cast on us, as the only persons of force sufficient to save the city from the calamities that it then felt, and was still further threatened with; and in consequence of their solicitations to me, that our business in that part of the world is only to trade and merchandize, and we are not desirous of taking or governing cities or countries; yet, as all the inhabitants of this place, great and small, were earnestly desirous of it, and I saw it was for the good of the place; I wrote to the general of Bombay on the subject, in such manner, that at an immense expence he sent thither, in our king's ships, a great force of good and experienced men, with a large quantity of artillery, and other warlike stores of all sorts, with which I have had the happiness to procure safety to the city and ease to the inha-

inhabitants, and have procured an entire curren-
 cy to your majesty's orders in the place, and your ma-
 jesty's authority by all ways in our power : will be
 preserved in this place, as it used to be , and you
 will consider the English as desirous of receiving
 your orders ; such being the intention of the gover-
 nor of Bombay and myself, whose whole power
 will be used to maintain the castle that we have
 possessed ourselves of for your majesty, and to pre-
 serve the bar and see open against all opposers on
 your behalf ; for we shall not apply the revenue
 you have granted for this purpose to others, as has
 hitherto been the case and since our having done
 this, the enemies that surrounded the place both by
 sea and land, to its great prejudice, have been re-
 moved. We are always ready for the safety of
 the castle and the city, with its inhabitants, and
 therefore, hope for your majesty's favour in behalf
 of the honourable English company, for whose
 good services on this occasion I must refer your
 majesty to the representation of the inhabitants of
 the place."

Notwithstanding all the specious reasons given
 by the company for seizing upon our castle and
 port of Surat, every impartial person may judge by
 this new incroachment, that the system of this as-
 piring society, is to reduce even the king himself,
 to an ignominious dependency, in depriving him
 of all the resources of his power.

We renewed our attempts on the provinces of
 Bengal in the year 1760, and though they were
 not attended with the success, which the justice of
 our cause deserved, our faithful and loving subjects
 gave us during three years repeated proofs of their
 loyalty.

loyalty: Having been distressed and harassed during these campaigns, cruel necessity obliged us to surrender ourselves to the commander of the British forces at Gogai, in the province of Bahar. During our intercourse with the English, we received from Dehly the melancholy news of the assassination of Allum Gueer, our renowned father. I made them the most advantageous offers, to induce them to support me in my just claims to the throne of Dehly. But finding they would do nothing for us, except the ceremony of proclaiming us at Patna, we quitted the Bahar province, and having had afterwards recourse again to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, for political, though unjustifiable reasons, he confined us, contrary to the veneration and obedience which he owed to our sacred person.

Cassim Ally Khawn having been expelled from the subahdary of Bengal, that nabob had retired, with his treasure and some of his adherents into Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, and at last prevailed upon him to join him in an attempt to recover his subahship. Accordingly Sujah al Dowlah invaded the province of Bahar with a considerable force, bringing us with him. Sujah al Dowlah, vanquished and fugitive after the battle of Bahar, left us behind him, and in this perplexing situation, we once more threw ourselves on the English for safety. In this continued scene of distress and anxiety we thought it was proper to grant, a temporary firmaun, appointing the company Subahdars of the province, as there was no other means to obtain their assistance than to gratify their ambition; they did not neglect of availing themselves of
this

this opportunity to increase their demands. As we were at this juncture bereft of friends, on whom we could rely even for personal safety. While we continued in the English camp, they treated us with some respect, though they took care in allowing me a small sum for my daily subsistence, to shew me an insulting superiority; they saluted me by the name of the king of the world, and did not leave me even the choice of a few friends. Having expelled the nabob Sujah al Dowlah of his dominions, and while it was yet uncertain whether they should ever restore him; we represented to the president and council at Bengal, that if this prince, my vassal was to be deprived of his sovereignty, I had an uncontroverted title right to his dominions, and desired a detachment of their troops, to be kept at my expence; till I had made such connections in the country, that with my own troops I might afterwards be able to defend the country without any farther assistance from the English. We offered to pay them off the revenues of the country, what sum they should demand yearly; a proof of our royal munificence. I thought then it was contrary to the English interest, to make peace with the vizier, and in that case, I declared I would go to Dehly, as Sujah al Dowlah had used me so unkindly, and was forced to rely on the English, though I looked on them as mercenary allies in the fullest extent of the adjective; it was their time to share with me the possession of a country rich and fruitful.

Having considered our petition, they resolved to keep a part of the subdued nabob's dominions for the use of the English company, and to put us in possession

possession of all the rest. Accordingly a paper was drawn up and sent to the commander in chief of their army, with directions to get it executed by us after a pompous declamation of their services, which according to their assertions had strengthened the foundation of the empire which God had given us; we were directed to grant to the company our royal favours for the time being, in assigning to them for the great expence they had been put to by the war with Sujah al Dowlah, the country of Ghazipore and the rest of the Zemindary of Bulwantsing; the rajah was to pay the revenues to the company, and the amount shall be expunged from the royal revenues. As the army of the English company had joined our standard, it was put in possession of Illahabad, and the rest of the countries belonging to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah; but the revenues were to be in our entire management and disposal.

We granted them besides out of our treasury, such a proportion of the revenues as the exigences of our affairs would admit of; and engaged when we should be put in full possession to reimburse the whole expences of the company in this business, from the time of their joining our royal standard. We issued accordingly our imperial sunnud confirming the same, and in consequence of this agreement we were put in possession of Illahabad, and all the subaship of Oude, excepting the Zemindary of Bulwantsing, at whose principal city of Banaras, a factory was, established by the governor and council of Calcutta for the collection of the revenues, which these servants fixed at twenty lacks, though this Zemindary actually yielded

yielded to the rajah at least seventy five lacks. The Omrah of Meer Jaffier's creation (Lord Clive,) having resolved to abolish the treaties solemnly entered into only two months before his arrival in Bengal, deprived us of that part of the Nizamut of Sujah al Dowlah with which he had already been invested. The company was also to give up the Zemindary of Bulwantsing; all of which were to be restored to the said nabob, upon his paying to the company the sum of fifty lacks of rupees. We were likewise supposed to be in actual possession of the provinces of Bengal, as we were thus circumstanced as to be forced to grant under this supposition to the company not only the office of the Dewannee of those provinces, but the revenues also; by which of course all the treaties with the nabobs of Bengal were rendered void. We likewise were obliged to confirm to the company, the lands before granted to them by the former nabobs; and to confirm the jaqueer of the English Omrah, and the English company, from Bengal thought the annual sum of twenty five lacks for the support of our household and dignity adequate to the wishes of the supreme ruler of Hindostan, and the concessions they had obtained from his royal munificence. These ravenous and sordid merchants flattered themselves of our ready compliance with their most extravagant desires, as they looked upon us as merely dependent on their bounty, thinking our hopes of protection and even subsistence, should rest upon them. They imagined it was impossible for us circumstanced as we were to deny their most unreasonable request

quest, as they boasted of being our greatest friends and benefactors.

These were not all the advantages they purposed to derive from our situation : they obtained upon the same principles sunnuds for the provinces of Sicacole in the Deckan, valued at the yearly revenue of thirty lacks, as lord Clive had made a point of succeeding for the five northern provinces.

We are sorry to acknowledge, that since the late daring encroachments and unjust demands of the company, that in reality there has not been for some years past a real emperor of Hindostan, as they have reduced the whole country to a state of anarchy and desolation. Though the company's servants pay us all the outward marks of respect and duty, we have a right to expect ; we have been shamefully dependent for our subsistence upon these reptiles, who boast of having raised us to that exalted title for the serving of their own purposes. Were we to submit longer to such indignities, we might well indeed be reputed their despicable tool, as long as the government of our country remains on the present iniquitous footing.

According to the fundamental constitutions of our empire, the rents of the lands are our property ; and the remainder of the revenues, after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of our viceroys, ought to be remitted to Dehly, or wherever the king shall reside or direct.

The kings of Hindostan were from the foundation of this Eastern monarchy independent princes, possessed of immense territories in their own right,

and either ruling their subjects by their own will or by the established laws of India.

The only land which the English East India company ever held by a regular grant, was that of the emperor Furrukseer in the year 1717. It was not quite fifteen bales where they established their factories. All the grants and concessions of the nabobs are illegal and invalid; according to the institutions of the empire, neither the nabob's of Bengal, nor indeed if any other part of Hindostan had a power over the revenues, they being liable to be called upon for the whole amount of them, after the necessary expences of the Nizamut are paid. The nabob therefore could have no right to dispose of the revenues, much less to bestow titles and honours by creating Omrahs of the empire. To alienate lands, or transfer to another person, by a formal and public act, any part of a jagheer, held only conditionally from the emperor as a jagueer, is an encroachment upon our royal prerogative. All these being imperial acts, can only be done by an emperor established on the throne of Dehly, which was not the case when we granted by compulsion the company's extravagant demands; consequently all the territories and revenues extorted by the English company, from a monarch whom they kept in an honourable captivity, cannot be reckoned the spontaneous grants of a king sitting on his throne, nor can be reputed valid, according to the constitutions of the empire of Hindostan, but deemed possessions acquired and held either by violence and usurpation.

To claim the authority of the oldest established laws and customs of the mogul empire, and to draw

draw from them inferences is highly absurd, when such laws had actually no existence.

Therefore none of these revolutions or pretended grants can be supported upon principles of justice. In all the transactions we have taken notice of, there was no right but that of the longest sword, nor any law excepted the will of the conquerors, who had no check from the legal powers, nor other rule but that of convenience.

We do not mean to break the perpetual peace and to interrupt the free commerce which have so long subsisted between the sovereigns of Hindostan and the English in all parts of our dominions, provided English goods shall pay the ancient custom, and as a proof of our high regard for the king of England, we wish that he would send and continue an ambassador at our court, during the time of the said peace and the said commerce; there to compound and end all such great and weighty-questions as might any way tend to a breach of the said peace.

Our intentions is, that if any English ships, or merchants shall arrive in any of our ports, my people shall permit and suffer them to do what they will freely in commercial transactions, aiding and assisting them on all occasions of injuries that shall be offered them; but no Europeans should be permitted to keep standing armies, or to raise fortifications in Hindostan, as they ought to be kept totally dependant upon that government, where they have procured themselves admittance for the avowed purpose of trade only. The English notions of liberty differ widely from Asiatic obedience: they should remember the time, which may again be renewed,

newed, when they were forced to sue for peace and pardon from the emperor Aurengzèbe. For this purpose, they dispatched from Surat two ambassadors who brought to the imperial presence, their hands tied by a sash before them, and were obliged to prostrate themselves. The king gave them a severe reprimand, after they had made a confession of their faults and desired pardon. Aurengzèbe, who was a mild and wise prince, accepted of their submission, and pardoned their faults on condition that the governor of Bombay should leave India and never come back again ; and their firmaun was renewed on condition that satisfaction should be given to his subjects on account of debts contracted, robberies committed, and losses and damages made good.

Matters being thus settled from the great lenity of the emperor, the company's agent in Bengal obtained leave for the English to return their factories.

In the earliest periods of India trade, the English as well as all other East India adventurers, used to trade freely in inland, under the protection of the Mogul government ; and it was not till after the subversion and dismembering of the empire ; that the security of merchants became precarious, by the great impositions they became subject to, in the different provinces usurped by the nabobs, who assumed to themselves the authority of the kings of Dehly.

Before the English company made themselves the sovereigns of Bengal, and during the independency of the empire of Hindostan, the company's goods, by virtue of a firmaun from the court

court of Dehly passed with their dustuck duty free, while those of other traders were exposed to the payment of the duties established by the country government; but now natives and Europeans who trade within the Bengal provinces are subject to such regulations as the English are pleased to impose on them, through the nominal nabobs; which regulations on many occasions amount to a total prohibition of their trade, being in general temporary, contradictory, and wholly calculated for obstruction.

The monarchs of Hindostan would not permit any of the professors of Islam to be hanged according to the English custom, esteeming that too ignominious a death for a Mahomedan to suffer; therefore, in such cases as were deemed capital, only the lash was permitted to be inflicted until death on the king's subjects Mahomedans and Gentoos; now the natives are subject to all the ignominious punishments invented by European cruelty and policy.

While the empire remained unshaken, the general established rate of estimation at Dehly, for cultivated ground, was such as to stimulate the industry of the inhabitants, to make the best of a soil celebrated for its extraordinary fertility; but since the subversion of the Mogul empire, the lands of every district of course became the property of each respective usurper, so long as by their own power they can maintain possession. Thus we find the English East India company declare themselves to have become the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom, of the revenues of which they likewise declare themselves the proprietors. The same confusion

fusion which has prevailed in the Dehly provinces since the subversion of the empire, has extended to the dominions of every usurping nabob.

When the emperor Furrisksear, granted his firmaun for exempting the English from the payment of all duties, their trade was very insignificant, as well as their legal possessions of lands, which were by the firmaun circumscribed within forty baces. At that time, and for many years afterwards, even down to the year 1753, it was the custom for the company in Bengal generally to provide their goods upon contracts with the merchants of the country, who received a part of the money in advance. These merchants contracted under penalties, to deliver the goods, at stated times and prices, at the company's principal settlement, and were of course amenable to the laws of Hindostan, when they or their agents were guilty of any irregular practices. Though the detriment accruing to the government, from the great partiality shewn to the English, in preference to our subjects, was comparatively inconsiderable, the kings of Dehly had no conception of the height to which that trade would be carried, on which such an unlimited exemption from duties had been granted.

When the government of Hindostan flourished, the artificers manufactured their goods freely and without oppression; and though there is no such thing at present, it was then a common practice for reputable families of the Tanks, or Weaver cast, to employ their own capitals in manufacturing goods, which they sold freely on their accounts. Now these useful members of the community ex-
perience

perience daily the dire effects of cruel avarice and oppression.

The reasons alledged by the vizier Sujah al Dowlah, nabob of Oude, for adopting the hostile plan of the king of Dehly and the Marattas, are, that after the subahs of Bengal had been deposed, confined, and murdered, and their nominal successors reduced by a merciless and ambitious company of merchants, to a most ignominious subjection, without reveues or authority, he thought it justifiable by all laws of self defence, to take the first opportunity he had, of preventing the same calamities that had befallen to the princes, his neighbours; that indeed, he looked upon his sovereignty and independence very precarious, as long as these military traders shall remain in undisturbed possession of the Bengal provinces. That though he had been obliged to submit to the ascendancy of their arms, when obliged to cope alone with this formidable power; now that three warlike allies were engaged in the same cause, he was determined to adhere to his engagements, and to try once more to free himself and his subjects from English oppression. That as for the treaties that he had made with the company, they were the mere effects of necessity and compulsion. That notwithstanding he had been restored to part of his dominions, he looked upon himself as a tenant at pleasure, while the English company have the disposal of his principal fortrefs, and are possessed of this important key to his dominions: that they have presumed to dictate to him the very choice of his friends and servants; that his subjects have been detached from their allegiance, by seduction or terror.

terror. That next to the invincible Shah Allum, he looked upon himself in rank and power, as the first prince of Hindostan, and shall never think himself secure and happy, as long as the petty tyrants of Calcutta shall give laws to the empire. If once we draw the sword, we must not sheath it again till the usurper's vanquished and entirely subdued, either sue for peace in their large strong holds, or are extirpated from all the provinces of India. All the European powers will applaud our magnanimous resolution. It is not the cause of a few ambitious sovereigns, which we do espouse, it is that of millions groaning under an intolerable yoke.

I had the reputation of a warlike prince before Fortune smiled to those Europeans. If I have been conquered, my spirit and my courage are still undaunted. Future generations shall bless our memory, if we are instrumental, next to the Almighty and our holy prophet, in rescuing princes and nations from the vilest abjection and misery, my first engagements are to my subjects, and I owe fealty to none but Shaw Allum, may his majesty begin a happy and glorious reign, by knowing his true friends, and never trusting again to his secret and insidious enemies. A perpetual war with the infidels, is preferable to a dishonourable peace."

The following ludicrous apology of the noble lord's conduct, having been published after his return from India, deserves here a place.

A vindication of the character and conduct of a noble lord, and of the three intended East India superintendants, from the aspersions of a writer who signs himself *Indus*.

Reading a very extraordinary paper signed *Indus*, my regard for the great personages aspersed in it, has drawn from me the following animadversions.

This scribbler pretends to great moderation, and to avoid all personal reflections, by confining himself to arguing from general principles; but almost every word he says, gives the lie to his professions. I shall only mention a few instances, and make some reflections on them. He tells us, "all the world knows that some people have been publicly charged with the shocking crimes of assassination and poison." Now, can any thing be more personal than this, for all the world knows he can mean no body here, but a certain noble lord, deeply concerned in East India matters. He might as well have written his name at length! Indeed, for I will not deny it, a certain gentleman charged this noble lord with these crimes at a general meeting of the East India proprietors; nay, what is more, on the court's appearing unmanfully, and from some foolish prejudices of education, to be shocked at them, he offered to go into the proof. But he was, very injudiciously, in my opinion, not

suffered to proceed. For after all, what could he have proved? He could only have proved that one black fellow of a nabob, called Surajah Dowla, was murdered after he had been deposed, and that another black fellow of the same profession, Najem el Dowla, was poisoned at an entertainment where this noble person was present. But could he have proved that his lordship either directed the dagger, or administered the draught with his own hands? Or, if he could, what then? He might as well reproach an inhabitant of Clare Market for knocking down a cow, or sticking a pig. For Blacks, Mahometans, or Pagans, are to be looked upon in the same light as these animals, when compared with Whites and Christians. Nay, they prove that it ought to be so themselves, for among the blacks in that country, killing a cow is thought to be as great, nay a greater crime, than killing a man. But were these allegations against his lordship true, and were they, contrary to all reason, to be accounted crimes, what an imprudent fellow is this Mr. Indus! Does he not know that we have laws against libels, and that it has been interpreted by a certain great man in the law, and, what is more, a friend of his lordship's, that truth is the greatest aggravation of a libel? All the world knows his lordship has *a penny in his purse*, and he has besides what is better, according to the old proverb, *a friend in court*, a fast and steady friend, whom he can depend upon. The Lord have mercy upon poor Indus, should his lordship prosecute him before his noble and generous friend

But Mr Indus goes on, and from bad proceeds to worse. He talks, by way of parable, of a
 poor

poor woman in the gospel, who being possessed by one devil, got him expelled, but this devil roaming about, met with six devils worse than himself, with whom he returned, took possession of the poor woman again, and made her case much worse than ever. Now the meaning of this parable or allegory is easily seen through, and I would not have Mr. Indus think so blind either his lordship or his noble friend by such a flimsy veil. The poor woman can be no other than the East India company, and the first devil his lordship, who has, certainly been long in possession of, or in the scriptural phrase of Mr. Indus, has long possessed that company, his temporary expulsion must allude to his late disappointment in the choice of directors, his roaming about to his intrigues between that time and this, and his final return with six devils worse than himself, and taking possession of the poor woman again, must mean the late measure adopted by the directors, and now under the consideration of the proprietors.

Thus far the allegory holds, but whom can he mean by the six devils? I confess this puzzles me, for in spite of my heart, I can only find out three of them, and these I will name to put such a fellow to the blush, if capable of blushing. They are colonel B—, Mr. V—, and Mr. S—, the three superintendants.

But the devil has certainly possessed Indus himself instead of the East India company. His lordship, was before, only a tyrant, a plunderer, a robber, a forger, a murderer, and a poisoner, but he is now a devil, and what is stranger still, the three worthy gentlemen above named, are said to

be worse devils than him. But how is this, Mr. Indus? Indeed had he contented himself with insinuating, that two of them had defrauded and plundered the company and the inhabitants of India as much as was in their power, when there, I could not have found great fault with him; for we have their own words for it, they have done that, and we all expect they will do it again: nay, it is for that very purpose that the worthy directors are now sending them out superintendants, with unlimited power, and they may rob and plunder without controul and to their hearts content. But with respect to the director, can any murders or poisonings be laid to his charge? Here I boldly challenge his worst enemies, and set them at defiance. Indeed were it asserted, that the meanest of L. C——'s dependants, as Mr. Vansittart calls him, was privy to, or concerned in the murder of Surajah Doula, I confess it could not be disproved. But it will not be alledged that he was present at table when Najem el Doula drank the deadly draught which hurried him in half an hour to his long home in the most excruciating agonies. No, we may all remember he was then haranguing in Leadenhall-Street, and pouring forth tropes of sublime Ciceronian eloquence in praise of his great patron, that extraordinary genius and generous eagle, as he calls him in his immortal writings.

But it may be alledged in favour of Mr. Indus, that if not worse, or even so bad now, they will in time become worse, for Mr. Indus pretends to be a prophet, and has predicted the ruin of the company from this measure.

Here

Here again I set him at defiance, for perjury added to the list, as it was by the gentleman above mentioned, where is the enormity human nature is capable of, which has not been laid to the noble person's charge? I grant indeed they may become as bad, and most probably they will, but I defy them to be worse; so that here Mr. Indus is in the wrong, as well as libellous and most malevolent, in his innuendoes and insinuations; and I desire he will publicly acknowledge his error.

Yet as to the article of poisoning, I must confess I am not altogether satisfied; not that I have any scruples about the thing; the manner of it is all; that a creature shaped, at least like a white man, and a christian, should be made to die the death of a rat, is not quite clever; therefore I never approved of the circumstance attending Najem el Deula's exit; and the only excuse I can offer in behalf of the noble person, is that he must then have been a novice, and that this was his first essay in that noble Machiavellic art.

the operation. But I hope this clumsy manner of doing business will be avoided for the future, and that the worthy directors will procure a sufficient quantity of this efficacious medicine for each of their superintendants. And what better use can it be put to, than to procure another 200,000l a year, or so, for the East India company, as we all know that sum was procured by the dosing of Najem el Dowla, clumsily and unworkmanlike as it was. At any rate, and whether this use be made of it or not, it is good to be fortified against all contingencies the mogul himself, his nabobs and his rajas may prove refractory, but it will be the fault of magnanimous superintendants, if they continue to be so, after any one of them comes within a pin's scratch of them. There will be nothing in it, they will be thought to die of an apoplexy, and, in my conscience, I think this will be the best way of ending the war with Hyder Nag, whose late successes have occasioned such a dreadful and alarming fluctuation in our stock.

But to return (for this is only a digression, though I hope not an unprofitable one) having thus vindicated the director and his antagonist from the malicious innuendo of Mr. Indus, that they either are, will be, or can be, worse devils than the great capital original devil, who has so long possessed the East India company, I must also defend the brave colonel, the other member of this triumvirate, who is included in the same charge. And now having mentioned a triumvirate, a sudden thought has occurred to me, and I cannot help pursuing it, of comparing this tri-
umvir;

umvirate to the last famous one which finally destroyed Rome, as it is to be hoped, and I believe is intended, this will destroy the East India company. The colonel being a soldier, and no doubt like Iago in Shakespear, a very valiant fellow, must be Antony beyond all question. But who is to be Octavius, is not so easily settled. Octavius was an errant coward, and loved to sleep in a found skin, and that is the well known character of both the antagonist and director. Octavius was an author, and wrote oratorical declamations, and a journal of his own actions. So have the director and his antagonist. We must therefore see who is to be Lepidus; and that no doubt is director. For like Lepidus, he has deserted the party of freedom he was once engaged in, merely for the honour, or rather disgrace of being a triumvir, and it is foreseen, nay he knows it himself, that he will be checked, over-ruled, duped, and finally made a mere cypher of by the other two. Director then being Lepidus, the other of necessity must be Octavius. This important point being settled, proceed we now to the promised defence of Soldier or Antony.

Now for my part, I never heard any thing else of Antony, but that he is the friend, or as Mr. Indus perhaps would chuse to stile him, the fool of, I wish I could, but I cannot call him Cæsar, no nor even Pompey; Mock Pompey then let it be, a name already given this noble person in the India House; for though in nothing else, he certainly resembles in this the antient Pompey, in reaping the credit and advantage of the great actions and victories

victories of other men. The real Pompey did so to
 Lucullus, Mock Pompey to Sir Robert Fletcher.
 But then will even the virulent Indus, dare to
 maintain that the friendship of Mock Pompey is an
 imputation or scandal upon Antony? If so, he
 shares the glorious scandal, for such will I call it,
 with the greatest lawyer, orator, and judge of his
 age and nation; with Cicero himself the chief præ-
 tor, for having got into a tract of Roman names,
 I must still retain them, and here with peculiar
 propriety. It is well known how the old Cicero
 fought all the old Pompey's battles, and how he
 served him at all plunges through thick and
 thin. But never did old Cicero manifest such a
 noble exertion of friendship for old Pompey, as
 modern Cicero lately did for Mock Pompey.

It seems a certain centurion who, had served
 under Mock Pompey in his Asiatic wars, having
 been, as he foolishly thought, illegally confined,
 and otherwise maltreated by him, brought an action
 against him for large damages in the court
 wherein Cicero presides.

The matter was truly of consequence; had the
 centurion prevailed, actions on actions innumera-
 ble would have been brought against Mock Pom-
 pey, and who knows but the princely jaghire it-
 self might have been touched. Here was an oc-
 casion for a friend to exert himself, and Cicero
 did not desert his friend. Besides the cause of
 sacred friendship, the cause of common liberty was
 also concerned, I mean that most valuable branch
 of it which the great pant after, that of oppressing,
 insulting, and every way abusing their inferiors
 with impunity, a cause for which Cicero has all

his life time proved himself a most strenuous advocate. "He talked, as Statira says of Alexander, good gods, how he did talk!" Never, as Hildbras has it.

Did well-feed lawyer on his breviate,
Blow from the bar so strong a lever,

As Cicero blew from the Bench in favour of his friend Mock Pompey. His eloquence was irresistible, 20,000 Marattis bore down every thing before them, the jury were convinced, and in a few minutes, brought in a verdict for Mock Pompey, defendant. Never beheld I in my life time such a manly generous exertion of friendship. Tears dropt from mine eyes, as in the cause of young Douglas. I felt myself excessively affected. Affected much in the same manner as St. Francis, who seeing a young fellow kissing a young wench in a corner, blest God there was so much Christian charity still left in the world. In the same manner did I bless God there was so much disinterested friendship in this age of corruption and venality still subsisting among the great. Were I endued with the lyrical powers of a Grey, our English Pindar, who is now celebrating in lofty strains the virtues of *Mæcenas atavis editi regibus*, chancellor of Granta, another genius equally great in his way, I would write an ode on friendship and inscribe it to the two friends. *O fortunati ambo.*

After so great an example, sure Indus will not presume to insinuate that Mock Pompey's friendship is an imputation upon Antony. How then

does he call him a devil? the very worst he can say of him is only that he is the devil's friend.

I shall take notice but of one passage more in Indus's letter, and then have done with him; which is "That he does not wish them for their own sakes (meaning the director and his antagonist) to force him to a disquisition into their characters and well known public transactions." What a malicious insinuation is here! but I find though Indus fears not the law, yet he dreads broken bones, and shudders at the thoughts of cold iron. Here is not the smallest hint about the military superintendant; and he trusts to the pacific disposition of the two civil ones. But he must be a coward as well as a libeller: for what can be a greater proof of a dastardly spirit, than thus publicly to insult those, who he is certain will not call him to a proper account for it? but even here these worthy gentlemen can boldly set him at defiance; and though the devil could not, they can stand the touch of Ithuriel's spear. For what worse can he say of them than they have already said of one another? but I am really ashamed of talking so much of these matters, and of speculation, fraud, rapine, plunder, and robbery, things of course, and always to be understood, when superintendants and secret committees are sent out to the East Indies. Yet justice obliges me to put in one word in favour of the director. I never heard that the director, when he returned to England, was worth more than 300,000*l.* a paltry sum when it is considered he was concerned in two capital revolutions, and the sole, at least principal operator in one of them. But from this we must deduct

deduct the full sum of 10,000l. which I am credibly informed he was really worth when he arrived president at Bengal, so that I defy malignity itself, to insinuate that he could have plundered the company and inhabitants of Bengal of more than 290,000l. I acknowledge this was a great error in our good director, but I hope he has seen it, that he has repented of it; and is resolved to rectify it in his next expedition.

Indus concludes with a prophecy, that this measure of sending out superintendants will ruin the company, and pretends to offer this as a reason against it. I never knew a more conceited coxcomb, or a more blundering fellow at an argument. First, he arrogates to himself great sagacity from this prophecy; but it is really so obvious, that the man who sees it not, must be blind. Next, he uses that consideration as an argument against the measure, which is really the best and only argument for it. I have a treatise by me ready for the press, which I shall publish as soon as I can procure a sufficient subscription among the present ministry and direction, and their respective adherents, wherein I have proved to a demonstration, that riches, commerce, and population, are the sources of all vice, and the bane of all good government. For instance, were there no people in this island, would there be any vice in it; would there be any whoring and drinking, cursing and swearing, fighting and quarrelling, robbing on the highway, or breaking the Lord's day? The thing is obvious, and I am ashamed to insist on such self-evident truths. Were England only to be so far happy as to become as poor; uncul-

uncultivated, and depopulated as Siberia, would there be any riots and disturbances, any bawlings about Wilkes and liberty, any clamours, or factious petitions about the freedom of elections, or which is the main point of all, would there be any opposition to the wise and vigorous administration of the virtuous chancellor of Granta? the ministry have already gone a great way in their part of the business, and are finishing what remains with all possible expedition. They have ruined the American trade, and will soon lose that of the Mediterranean, by the accession of Corsica to France. They have done their duty in the west and middle, and it rests for the company to do theirs in the east,

Should the patriotic directors and the disinterested part of the proprietors prove the majority, success cannot be doubted. But unfortunately, should these worthies be outnumbered by the selfish proprietors, whose affections are swayed by the love of filthy lucre, and the mammon of unrighteousness, or what is worse, by narrow confined attachments to their families and relations, and who have not penetration enough to foresee future peace, happiness and virtue, from immediate poverty, ruin, and disgrace. I am much afraid that this salutary measure of sending out our three superintendants, with unlimited powers to the East Indies, whom I have proved to be every way so well qualified for fulfilling such glorious purposes will be rejected.

All the former treaties between the English East India company and the nabobs of Bengal and Oude paye no validity, as the contracting parties on one
side

side were the mogul's vassals, who could not treat as sovereigns with European nations, without the sanction of the kings of Dehly; and on the other part, they were dictated by the company, to those they had raised or subdued, and consequently the concessions were suggested by fear and necessity.

In the treaty concluded between colonel Clive, on the part of the English East India company, and Serajah al Dowla, nabob of Bengal, in February 1757. The demands granted were, that the company be not molested upon account of such privileges as had been granted them by the king's of Dehly's firmaun, which was to remain in full force.

This the nabob of Bengal could not answer for, nor contract an engagement of that sort without the knowledge or approbation of the lords supreme of Hindostan. The villages which had been given to the company by the firmaun, could not be legally detained by the subahdars, as they had no authority constitutionally to grant or resume at pleasure, territories which are all the mogul's lands to the company. The thirty-seven villages contiguous to Calcutra, which the company applied to the emperor Furruksear in 1716, for liberty to purchase from the Zemindars, were not given to the English by that emperor; but only he allowed them to purchase the same: however the Zemindars in Jassier's time would not part with them, and they were at last mostly wrested from them by fraud and violence.

None but the mogul could grant to the company the privilege to pass all the goods belonging to them; and having their dustuck freely by land or
water

water in Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, without paying any fees or duties whatsoever; and the nabob's assent to the second article is a mere farce.

He engaged to make the company the restitution of their factories and settlements, which he had taken from them when their conqueror; and, after he was vanquished, he was compelled to restore the company these acquisitions. It was the same case in regard to the money and effects taken from the English company, their factors, and dependants; as, in case of refusal, they would have been forced to comply with this demand. They left indeed to the nabob's justice to determine, what an equivalent in money he should give for goods damaged, plundered, or lost, reserving to themselves mentally the right of deciding the loss and reparation.

Though it was impossible for the nabob to foresee, if the money to be struck in Calcutta, according to the fifth article, should be of equal weight and fineness with that of Marshdedabad, they forced him to consent that no demand should be made by his subjects for a deduction of batta, at the rate of exchange between rupees of different species.

The agreement of the company signed by the governor and committee the 9th of February 1757, has been openly violated in every point. They declared by a solemn attestation that they never would oppress or do violence to any persons without cause, but it was left at their discretion to determine the nature of the offence and the punishment; they offered in numberless instances protection to persons having accounts with the government, to the king's zemindars, to murderers and robbers, although they had solemnly engaged to
tho

the contrary, with the additional obligation never to act contrary to the tenor of the articles agreed to by the nabob

Colonel Clive, with the pompous eastern titles of Subut Jung Bahader, protested at the same time that he had resolved upon the destruction of the nabob Sujah al Dowla, in the presence of God and our Saviour, that the English company would irrevocably adhere to the articles of the treaty made with the nabob, look upon his enemy as their enemies, and grant him all the assistance in their power.

The same nabob of Bengal granted to the company pervannahs for erecting a mint at Calcutta, and for the currency of their business, which none but the sovereign of Hindostan has a right to permit. He could not confirm the king's firman without his direction and authority

The fifteen pervannahs of the same tenor and date, which he granted to the rajahs and zemindars, are equally absurd and ridiculous. the nabobs were themselves sensible they had no right to exert these acts of sovereignty, as they always pretended to be authorized by virtue of the royal mandate, and acknowledge themselves servants to the king

The treaty of June, 1757, between colonel Clive on the part of the English East India company, and Meer Jassier Ally Khawn, the creator of the conqueror of Plassey, cannot be looked upon in any other light than an agreement betwixt two persons, *qui sentendent comme larrans en foire*.

The

The enemies of the English, right or wrong; whether Indians or Europeans, were to be his enemies

The French laugh at the third article of this treaty, by which the treacherous usurper, seated by colonel Clive on the musnud, confirming to the English the possession of all the effects and factories which belonged to them (the French) in the provinces of Bengal, the paradise of rations, as well as at his solemn engagement, never to permit them to settle in the three provinces, as he could not, if even he had been the legal governor of the country, repeal a grant of the king, in consequence of which the French were settled there

It is now publicly known what use was made of the crore of rupees the new nabob gave to the company, in consideration of the losses they had sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta, and of the other sums intended for the relief of individuals, English, Gentoos, Mahometans and Armenians, as the distribution of the money was left to colonel Clive.

He granted by the eighth article to the English company, besides the tracts of lands belonging to several zemindars which surrounded the borders of Calcutta, six hundred yards without the ditch, which was a most daring encroachment upon the authority of the king of Dehly, the real proprietor of all the lands in his dominions.

The company have no better title to the land lying south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, which Meer Jassier put under their zemindary; all the officers of these parts being forced under their jurisdiction.

The

this acknowledged property, without his majesty's approbation.

The siccas and gold mohars coined at Calcutta, were ordered to pass in the king's treasury; his name was often made use of to give a sanction to these privileges so freely bestowed by vassals, who had not even the least shadow of a delegated power from the court of Dohly.

In the pervannah from Meer Jaffier, for the currency of gold and silver, coined in the company's mint at Calcutta, he calls his majesty the high and mighty, the bold and valiant commander; the greatest of merchants, the English company, on whom may the king's favour rest for ever.

This nabob in the pervannah, dated the 20th of December, relative to the zemindars of the lands south of Calcutta, granted to the company by treaty with him, called himself the devoted servant of Allum Geer, emperor fighting for the faith; and gives notice to all the king's officers and servants settled in Bengal, the terrestrial paradise, that these zemindars has been given by treaty, to the most illustrious and most magnificent the English company, the glory and ornament of trade. Your duty, says he, is to give no cause of complaint to the tenants of the company, who on their part, are to govern with such kindness, that husbandry may receive a daily encrease; that all disorders may be suppressed, drunkenness, and other illicit practices prevented, and the imperial tributes be sent in due time. The said company will be careful to govern, according to the established custom and usage, without any gradual deviation, and watch for the prosperity of the people.

The

The wretched inhabitants have had too fatal an experience of the contrary, by the numberless calamities, and enormous abuses, which have distracted these provinces ever since the company became sovereigns. The nabob concluded this piece of extravagance and flattery, by declaring to the zemindars that they were dependents of the company, and that they must submit to such treatment as they give, whether good or bad, as this was his express injunction. He knew he had not a sufficient authority to protect the natives thus transferred to tyrannical masters, from injury and oppression. By this perwannah the inhabitants of twenty-four large districts were left at the mercy of the company, without any hopes of redress and alleviation to their miseries.

According to the obligatory bond given by the company upon their being appointed zemindars of the lands south of Calcutta, they engaged to deliver into the imperial treasury in the proper times the due rents of the Sircar; to behave in such a manner to the inhabitants and lower sort of people, that by their good management, these territories may flourish and increase; to take such care of the king's highways, that the travellers and passengers may pass and repass without fear or molestation: that if the effects of any person be plundered or stolen, they would endeavour to discover and produce the robbers and thieves, and deliver the goods if found, to the owners, and the criminals to condign punishment. They declared they would refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the imperial court, the asylum of the world.

The

they were to take from him all the burthens of government, as they were sure to enjoy by these means all the sweets of it.

By the fifth article, the company stipulated that the lands of Burdwan, Midnipore and Chittigong, should be assigned for all charges of their army, and provisions for the field, though they had begun hostilities to gratify their own avarice and ambition. The company engaged to demand no more than these three assignments, provided they received all the profits of these three countries ; an instance of admirable disinterestedness and moderation.

In the sixth article, the tenants and inhabitants of those districts were to be protected from injury ; though their evils and grievances greatly multiplied under the English company's government, never obtained redress or reparation.

The tenants of the Sircar and those of the English company were prohibited by the eighth article from settling in each other's territories, and whosoever should fly for refuge to either party was to be delivered up.

The measures for war or peace with the pretender to the mogul empire (the king Shah Allum) raising supplies of money, and concluding both these points, were to be weighed in the scale of reason, that is, as the company should find their account in supporting or discountenancing his claims to the empire ; whatever the company should judge expedient was to be put in execution : in the mean time they contrived it so to have him removed from the Bengal provinces, nor suffered to get a footing in it, till they had considered

The next 'ridiculous treaty was that between Meer Mahomed Cossim Ally Khawn, and the English East India company, on their deposing of Meer Jaffier, and making Meer Cossim nabob of Bengal, dated September 27th, 1760.

By the first article, the nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khawn Bahadar, was permitted to continue in possession of his dignities; all affairs were to be transacted in his name, though it is probable the company used it often in vain, as they seldom, if ever, imported to him the transactions which required the sanction of his name. A suitable income, that is what the company thought proper, was to be allowed for his expences.

By the second article, the capital of Bahar, commonly called Patna, and Orissa, were conferred by his excellency the nabob Cassim Ally Khawn on Cossim Khawn Bahadar; that is, the English meant to govern under his name these provinces; and though he was supposed to be vested with the administration of all affairs in these territories, the company had the sole management of all public transactions.

A firm friendship and union was established with the nabob of Patna, his friends and enemies were to be in the same predicament with the English.

It was stipulated by the fourth article, that the Europeans and Tilinges of the English army should be ready to assist the said nabob in the management of all affairs, and in all affairs dependent on him; they were to exert themselves to the utmost of their abilities; that is, they

were

they were to take from him all the burthens of government, as they were sure to enjoy by these means all the sweets of it.

By the fifth article, the company stipulated that the lands of Burdwan, Midnipore and Chittigong, should be assigned for all charges of their army, and provisions for the field, though they had begun hostilities to gratify their own avarice and ambition. The company engaged to demand no more than these three assignments, provided they received all the profits of these three countries ; an instance of admirable disinterestedness and moderation.

In the sixth article, the tenants and inhabitants of those districts were to be protected from injury ; though their evils and grievances greatly multiplied under the English company's government, never obtained redress or reparation.

The tenants of the Sircar and those of the English company were prohibited by the eighth article from settling in each other's territories, and whosoever should fly for refuge to either party was to be delivered up.

The measures for war or peace with the pretender to the mogul empire (the king Shah Allum) raising supplies of money, and concluding both these points, were to be weighed in the scale of reason ; that is, as the company should find their account in supporting or discountenancing his claims to the empire ; whatever the company should judge expedient was to be put in execution : in the mean time they contrived it so to have him removed from the Bengal provinces, nor suffered to get a footing in it, till they had considered

dered the best use they could make of this fugitive prince

In consequence of this treaty, Cassim Ally Khan gave the sunnuds to the company, granting them the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, which were inalienable domains of the king of Hindostan. They also settled to have the sole privilege of purchasing half the lime produced at Shilnert for three years, to construct a fort in Calcutta, that no delays might be occasioned in finishing this work.

The pretence of this illegal grant was, that divers wicked people had treacherously stretched forth their hands to plunder the subjects and waste the royal dominions, which the new Nabob had no right to dispose of, for this specious reason, the said pergunnah was granted to the company, in part for disbursements of their expences and the monthly maintenance of five hundred European horse, two thousand European foot, and eight thousand seapoys, which were to be entertained for the protection of the royal dominions, that is, in good English, to enslave the princes who were directed to make these concessions, and oppress the defenceless subjects. The officers of the revenues were ordered to attend quietly and contentedly, and to pay to the persons appointed by the English company what they should exact, and implicitly submit in all things to their authority. And the office of collectors of the English company was as follows: they shall continue the zemindars and tenants in their places, regularly collect the revenues of the lands and deliver them in monthly sum for the payment of the expences of the
com-

company, and the pay of the above-mentioned forces, that they may be always ready, chearfully and vigorously to promote the affairs of the king, which was in fact, their own interest.

Mr. Vansittart having been the chief instigator of Meer Jassier's deposition, was afterwards instrumental in re-instating him in the nizemat of Bengal; and Cassim Ally Khawn who had been elected by the company, was now proscribed and disgraced. It was no difficult matter for the governor and council of Calcutta to prescribe to Meer Jassier, who was a prisoner within their walls, what terms they pleased, as he was glad to subscribe to them previously to his enlargement and restoration. The substance of the treaty between the English company and Meer Jassier on this extraordinary event was on their part to re-instate him to his honours, titles, and dignities, in the subahdary of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and to deliver up to him the effects, treasure, jewels, &c. belonging to the deposed Cassim Ally Khawn, which should fall into their hands. Whoever knows the rapacious spirit of the company's servants may easily guess, the little share Meer Jassier had to the treasure they had seized upon.

company, and the pay of the above-mentioned forces, that they may be always ready, chearfully and vigorously to promote the affairs of the king which was in fact, their own interest.

Mr. Vansittart having been the chief instigator of Meer Jassier's deposition, was afterwards instrumental in re-instating him in the nizamat of Bengal; and Cassim Ally Khawn who had been elected by the company, was now prescribed and disgraced. It was no difficult matter for the governor and council of Calcutta to prescribe to Meer Jassier, who was a prisoner within their walls, whatever they pleased, as he was glad to subscribe to them previously to his enlargement and restoration. The substance of the treaty between the English company and Meer Jassier on this extraordinary event was on their part to re-instate him to his honours, titles, and dignities, in the subahdary of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and to deliver up to him the effects, treasure, jewels, &c. belonging to the deposed Cassim Ally Khawn, which should fall into their hands. 'Whoever knows the rapacious spirit of the company's servants may easily guess, the little share Meer Jassier had to the treasure they had seized upon.